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WESTERN AMERICANA

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THE MEMORIAL OF FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES
1630

Translated by
MRS. EDWARD E. AYER

Annotated by
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE
and
CHARLES FLETCHER LUMMIS

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INTRODUCTION

THIS *Memorial* is one of the scarcest of all Americana. A copy of the thin, parchmented volume, printed in 1630, and of only 104 pages, is worth at least its weight in gold. To the student of the Southwest it is as precious as to the collector — an indispensable source. Benavides was an eye-witness and a part of the history-making era he records. He was an honest chronicler, though an enthusiastic one — a religious "promoter," as it were. The very zeal which made him risk his life and make naught of his hardships as a frontier missionary for a number of years, colors his report — which was purely to induce the King to send more missionaries to New Mexico and build more churches there, for the conversion of the Gentiles. Naturally he was optimistic, so far as populations go; sixty per cent is none too large a rebate for his figures, which were of necessity mere guesses. There was no census; and these Indian populations almost invariably impress one as more numerous than they are. Less pardonable writers than Benavides have gone much farther astray in these estimates, in our own day. Barring this, and his natural "prospector" faith in "mines" which never panned out, Fray Alonso is a most trustworthy witness; and by grace of his position, a most important one.

This precious source was translated into English and published for the first time in *Land of Sunshine*, a monthly magazine issued under the editorship of the present writer at Los Angeles, California (vol. XIII, nos. 4–6, Sept.-Dec., 1900; vol. xv, nos. 1–3, Jan.-Mar., 1901), consequently it had hitherto been inaccessible to many of our scholars. I say this advisedly; for it would be gross flattery to count as a translation the incompetent English version printed in the New York Public Library *Bulletin* of November and December, 1899, from an undigested transcript by the late John Gilmary Shea which evidently had never been intended by that scholar for publication. This matter was reasonably covered by *The Nation*, in its issue of October 18, 1900.

One of the few extant copies of the original Spanish edition of Benavides is in the possession of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago, the first president of the Field Museum of Natural History, a trustee of the Newberry Library, a frontier-made American who has gathered one of the noblest libraries of Americana in existence. Mrs. Ayer, in full sympathy with his passion, has set herself with rare devotion and patience to the translation of Benavides; and with as great modesty has given me plenary editorial authority upon her manuscript. I have scrupulously compared it word for word with the original, have made whatever correction or comment seemed fit, and am prepared to vouch for the translation as it stands. Mr. Frederick Webb Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, supplies over his own initials a connotation which adds greatly to the value of the work.

To those who use words with any seriousness, there is no such thing as a "literal translation" on any considerable scale. A word may be translated literally; a book, never. This is not a literal translation. It is merely an accurate one. It gives what Benavides said, so that our reader can understand him in English as clearly and as closely as his Seventeenth Century reader understood him in Spanish. No liberties whatever are taken with his meaning or his vocabulary. We have found no warrant to educate him, to multiply his vocabulary, to remedy his repetitions. Only in punctuation is he bettered; and that only because his interminable sentences would be unintelligible in English. We know laws in punctuation, now-a-days; he did not. I have tried to see that no word of his should go unaccounted-for — either by direct translation or at least by the shading of some other word in the sentence. It is enough at present to say that words supplied for clarity (as demanded by gender of articles or by other tokens not translatable in English) are in brackets; that the derivative homonyms, when equivalent, are preferred to synonyms; that so far as seemed possible the same English word is used throughout for the same Spanish word; that "free translations" are indicated by bracketed quotations from the original; and that the whole is tested by a reasonably thorough familiarity with the documentary Spanish of Benavides's day and fellows, with every mile of the ground Benavides writes of, and with the language as it is still spoken there.

CHARLES F. LUMMIS.

MEMORIAL

Which FRAY JUAN DE SANTANDER OF THE Order of Saint Francis, Commissary-General of the Indies, presents to His Catholic Majesty, the King, Philip IV, Our Lord.

MADE BY THE FATHER FRAY ALONSO
de Benavides, Commissary of the Holy Office and Custodian
that was of the Provinces and Conversions
of New Mexico.
IN IT ARE TREATED THE TREASURES
spiritual and temporal, which the Divine Majesty hath manifested
in those conversions and new discoveries by means
of the Priests of this Seraphic Order.

BY AUTHORITY

In Madrid, at the Royal Press, in the year M. DC. XXX.

LETTER OF SANTANDER TO THE KING

LETTER OF SANTANDER TO THE KING

[*My*] *Lord:*

I, FRAY Juan de Santander,[1]* of the Franciscan Order,† Commissary-General of the Indies, state: That [along] with the report made to me by the Father Fray Alonso de Benavides,[2] Custodian of the conversions [missionary-work, *conversiones*] of New Mexico, on the 20th of June of the bygone year of 1626, concerning the great growth those conversions were making, and the lack of Religious to administer them, I stated the case to Your Majesty. Attending to the which, with the accustomed zeal of [our] so Catholic Lord and King, you were pleased to order delivered a Royal cedula of the following tenor:

"[To the] Marquis de Cerralvo,[3] kinsman, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of the Provinces of New Spain,‡ or to the person or persons in whose charge that government may be: Fray Juan de Santander, Commissary-General of the Indies, has made report to me that it is more than thirty years[4] since the Religious of his Order made a beginning on the conversion of New Mexico; [that] they were there more than twelve years without being able to make any fruit among those souls; and nevertheless the *Provincia* of the Holy Evangel[5] always took care to send a Commissary and Religious to that land; that it must be some five years since by the Provincial Chapter (which was celebrated in that [province] of the Holy Evangel) the [Province] of New Mexico was erected into a *Custódia*, and for its *Custódio* [was appointed] Fray Alonso de Benavides, a Religious of good example and life; and you gave him warrant to carry in twenty and six ministers[6] to those conversions. As indeed he carried them. That at present there are only sixteen priests and three lay-brothers, the rest being dead. That since they are so few, and the region of the said *Custódia* is more than one hundred leagues of rough and mountainous road; and the Indians that are there being 34,320,* [these few] cannot attend to the administering of them. Wherefore he besought me to be pleased to order that you and that *Audiéncia* should send to said *Custódia* as many as thirty ministrant priests and some lay-brethren; and that as those said conversions go forward, you should continue succoring them with what is necessary. And having viewed it in my Royal Council of the Indies,[7] I have held it to be well, and thus I order you that you do; that to the said Custody of New Mexico be sent thirty Religious † for the said conversion and indoctrination of the Indians. And in the future you shall have much care that they [the Indians] be provided with [the Religious] that shall seem necessary. For thus is my will.

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* See the notes following the text.

† See note 10.

‡ Mexico.

* This figure must be regarded as Benavides' census of the entire aboriginal population of his *custódia* and not of the Pueblo tribes alone. The record of five hundred thousand conversions and eighty-six thousand baptisms mentioned by Santander toward the close of his letter doubtless refers to the missionary work that had been accomplished in Mexico. In referring to the martyrdom of the Franciscan missionaries in New Mexico from the time of Coronado onward, Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, writing about 1629 of the period 1538–1626, says: "And their blood hath so fructified the land that through it there have been baptized 34,650 souls (as I have counted on the baptismal records), not counting the many that at present continue to be converted. In the which mystery are working, with the greatest spirit, the laborers in the vineyard of the Lord; who have erected forty-three churches in all, large and small, at their own cost, without Our Lord the King spending a dime, thus relieving His Majesty of these expenses. And as ministers continue to come in with each expedition, these conversions are always being extended." (Zárate Salmerón, Relación, 1538–1626, translated in *Land of Sunshine,* Los Angeles, Nov. 1899, p. 341.) — F. W. H.

† *Religiosos* includes all who have taken vows—priests, lay-brothers, etc. In English, the word *religious,* both singular and plural, is similarly used in the church.—C. F. L.

"Madrid, fifteenth of November, One Thousand, Six Hundred and Twenty-seven."

And in fulfillment and conformity with so Catholic a cedula and mandate, there went from the Province of the Holy Evangel, of Mexico, in the past year of [One Thousand] Six Hundred and Twenty-nine, thirty Religious* of exemplary life; and with the disposition which those who were there [in New Mexico] had brought about, and with the preaching and practice of these thirty who went newly by order of Your Majesty, our Lord hath wrought so many marvels and miracles, and made so splendid discoveries of riches, spiritual as well as temporal, that it has seemed [good] to the Viceroy of New Spain and to the Commissary-General of that region,* that the said Father Fray Alonso de Benavides as the person under whose hand has come the government of those conversions [during] these years, should come in person to make manifest to Your Majesty the splendid fruits of the zeal with which Your Majesty favors and aids them [the conversions]— giving you, even in them, in this life, a part of the infinite reward which is hoped for you and merited. For besides the treasure of five hundred thousand souls converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, and [made] subject to Your Majesty (of the which there are already baptized more than eighty-six thousand),* likewise in the temporal, our Lord is repaying it with the discovery of so rich treasures of mines so prosperous.† And since the said Father has arrived at this Court with this sole object, having journeyed in this year of [One Thousand] Six Hundred and Thirty, more than two thousand six hundred leagues [6890 miles] with many risks and hardships, and is a person worthy of all credit and of [whatever] grace Your Majesty may deign to show him, for the much that he has labored in those conversions — I pray and beseech Your Majesty deign to hearken thus to the memorial which he presents, wherein he relates concisely all that our Lord hath wrought in those conversions, with the royal aid of Your Majesty. As well, also, that he may make manifest to you by word [of mouth] the much service our Religion [i. e., the Franciscan Order] doth in that so remote Kingdom of yours; with so great advantage to the souls of so many infidel barbarians that have come to the knowledge of our good God and Lord. Whereof Your Majesty enjoys the chief merit. And his memorial is in the following form.

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* See footnote p. 6.

† For a statement of the supposed mineral wealth of New Mexico, see note 21.

FRAY JUAN DE SANTANDER,
Commissary-General of the Indies.

TRANSLATION OF THE MEMORIAL

Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

John Andrew & Son.

Pl. I

THE PIÑON TREE.

THE MEMORIAL OF FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES

[*My*] *Lord:*

I, FRAY Alonso de Benavides, of the Order of St. Francis,[10] Custodian of the Conversions and of the Custody of New Mexico, state: That the events and affairs of that Kingdom (or we might better say New World)— which in these present years we have converted and pacified unto God our Lord, and to obedience unto Your Majesty, we Religious of [the Order of] my Father St. Francis, [being] the first and only ones therein, since even until now no other Order [*Religion*] has entered there — are so many and such that I cannot set them forth all at once and in brief. For with the Royal assistance and aid of Your Majesty we have discovered great treasures, spiritual as well as temporal. The which the Divine Majesty hath wished to attest with so many marvels and miracles that it seemed [good] to the Viceroy of Mexico and to my Order, to send me that in person I should come to show them forth and represent them to Your Majesty, since [I am] the person who has directed and administered them many years. And in so far as I may fall short in this memorial (lest I be prolix to one whom we so much desire to serve) that I should tell it by word [of mouth]— in the moments in which Your Majesty may deign to hear me. And I shall hold for very great reward of the many risks, hardships, and wanderings which we suffer therewith so brilliant profit to the honor and glory of God our Lord, if it come to Your Majesty's notice and knowledge what great repute [*mérito*] and [what] prayers you enjoy in those Provinces* and that so remote Kingdom, which are distant from here more than two thousand six hundred leagues; the which [leagues] I have traveled for this purpose in this year of [One Thousand] Six Hundred and Thirty — holding it all for very well-employed, in seeing myself at the feet of Your Majesty. And my statement is as follows [*digo assi*]:

---

* See note 63.

NATIONS WHICH DWELL ALONG THE ROAD TO NEW MEXICO

The kingdom and provinces of New Mexico[11] are situated four hundred leagues onward from [*adelante*] the City of Mexico, to the north, in 37 degrees, and though the settlements are there, the district begins two hundred leagues this side; that is, in the valley of Santa Barbara[12] [in Chihuahua], the last pueblo of New Spain on that side. The dividing line is Rio Conchos, so called after the Concha nation which dwells upon it. From this we go seeking the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande] one hundred leagues,* the which are passed with very great risks, because inhabited by the nations of the Tobosos, Tarahumares, Tepeoanes, Tomites, Sumas, Hanos, and others,[13] people very fierce, barbarous, and untamed. For they always go totally naked, and have no house nor any planting. They live on what they hunt, which is all sorts of animals, even though they be unclean [ones]. For this [hunting] they move from hill to hill. Over their gambling these nations are wonted to have civil wars, and they slay each other brutally. Their weapons are bow and arrow, which are the general [weapons] of all the nations. When we pass through their midst, they invest us face to face, if they see but few people, and do [all] the ill they can. For which reason [that region] cannot be passed by less than twelve men with their horses, and very well ready with their weapons. Even in this manner, it is necessary to go with care, making a fire at nightfall in one place, to lead them astray, and

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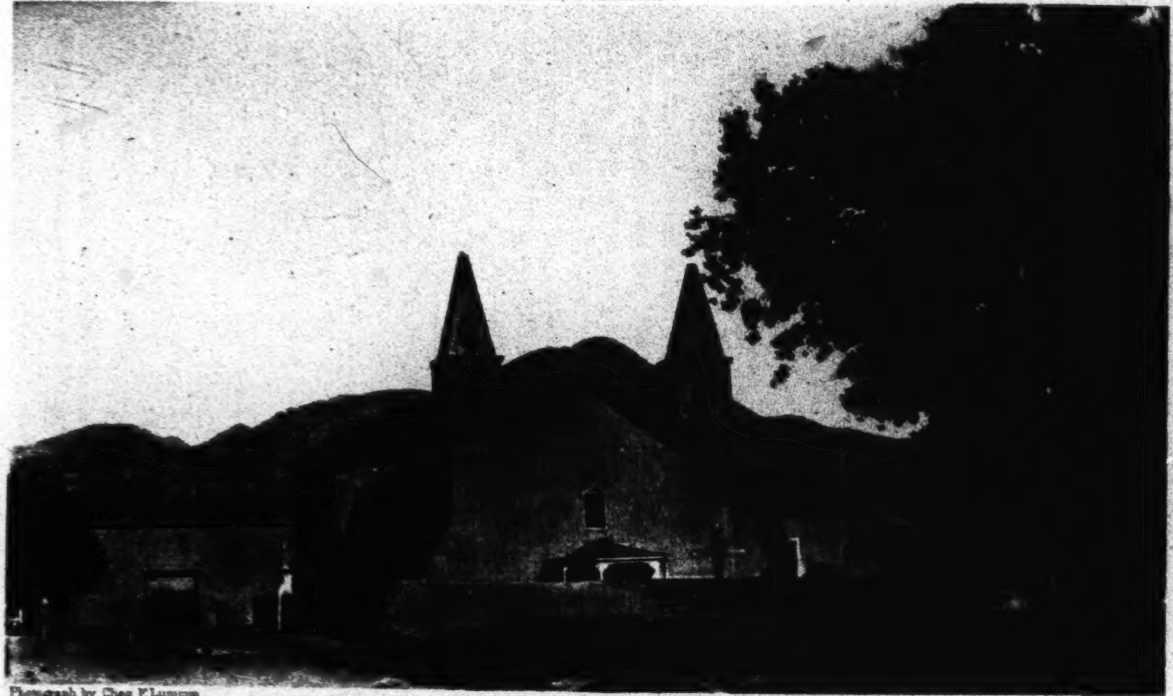
* The distance is almost exactly a hundred leagues from San Bartolomé to the junction of the Conchos with the Rio Grande.—F. W. H.



Photograph by Chas F. Lummis

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

Pl. II

THE CHURCH AT SOCORRO.

[then] to proceed beyond [the fire] as far as is possible. Even when they see much force of people, they at least try in their ambuscades at night to do [all] the harm they can in the horse-herd. Ever since New Mexico was discovered, always that these hundred leagues are being traversed there have been wars with these Indians, to avert the damage they try to do us. Yet by the mercy of God our Lord, the Spaniards always come forth victorious. We have tried all possible [means] to convert and pacify these nations, as well for the good of their souls as for the security of the road. But so great is their barbarism that they will not even let themselves be talked with. It shall please our Lord that the time come for their conversion, as [it has come] for [the conversion of] the rest.

THE MANSA NATION OF THE RIO DEL NORTE[14]

Having traversed these one hundred leagues, we reach the famous Rio del Norte,[15] which has this title because it brings its current from that direction many leagues. A hundred leagues before reaching New Mexico, this river is inhabited by a nation which we commonly call Mansos or Gorretas, [the latter] because they cut the hair in such fashion that it looks [as if] they wore a small cap set upon the head. And in the like manner, warned by [the fact] that our dogs have bitten them sometimes when they met us with hostility, and that when they come peacefully and tame [*mansos*] we say to the dogs: "*Sal ai!*" [Get out!] so that they may not bite them, they also are accustomed to take precautions that we tie up the dogs, crying to us, "*Sal ai! Sal ai! Manso! Manso!*" [Get out! we are tame, or peaceable!] And by this name of Mansos they are commonly known among us. This also is a people which has no houses, but only huts of branches [*ranchos de ramas*]. Nor do they sow, nor do the [men] wear any clothing in particular, but all [go] naked. And the women only cover themselves from the waist down with two deer-skins, one in front and the other behind. Likewise, they are of the temper [*condicion*] of the foregoing; that if they see their way they do all the evil they can; but if unable [to do any] they all come peacefully to seek us, that we may give them something to eat, which is their chief aim. And between a few of them they eat a cow raw, leaving nothing of the paunch — since they do not even pause to clean it of its filth but swallow it as it is, like dogs, grabbing it with the mouth and cutting it off with knives of flint, and swallowing it without chewing. These Mansos, then, since they are at the crossing [*el passo*] of this river, have always to be encountered. And they are accustomed to take us to their own rancherias, that we may give to eat to their women and children. And likewise they are accustomed to regale us with what they have — which is fish and mice. It is a people very comely, well-featured and robust. Out of all the times that we have preached to them, they said to me now [the last time] when I passed by them that they would be glad to have Religious there to instruct them and baptize them; and it would be of very great importance. For aside from the chief thing which is the conversion of these souls, redeemed, as ours are, with the blood of our Lord, it would also be to make safe the passage of those two hundred leagues, and a start on the conversion and reduction thence of the other adjacent nations. [This is] a thing that could be accomplished [by] placing there three or four Religious, with only fifteen or twenty soldiers for escort. Wherewith would be avoided the other [things] that [now] are done at such expense to Your Majesty every time we go to New Mexico. Also, under this security there would be settled many very rich mining camps, which are all along this road, and splendid ranch sites, with water, and parcels of very good land, whereby that road would be traveled each year, and as often as one might chose — and not be [as now], for lack of this

Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis

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PL. III

RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH AT SANDIA, WHERE ESTEVAN DE PEREA WAS BURIED security that five and six years pass without our knowing in New Mexico [anything] of the Spanish nation until the dispatches go which are assigned for the succor of the Religious and churches which Your Majesty supports with so Catholic zeal. For though it is true that this dispatch is assigned and determined to be made punctually every three years, five and six [years] are wont to pass without the Royal officials bethinking themselves about us — and God knows what it costs to remind them. This Mansa nation is already very much disposed to its conversion; for all the times that we talk to them of God they hear us with much willingness, and are very sorry that they have to go to burn in hell if they are not baptized. And so they say they are pained that they have not Religious to instruct them there, like the other nations. I cannot omit to tell that which happened to me here, and it was [this]: That entering a rancheria of this Mansa nation I set up in it a Cross, of the height of a lance, and told them, among other things, that that was the token of God, that all we Christians kept it with us and kept it in the pueblos and houses in which we lived; that in our necessities, sorrows, and sicknesses we petitioned Him for relief, and by virtue of that holy Cross He relieved us thereof, and that thus they should have very great faith in it [the cross], that in their sicknesses they should adore and touch it, for if they had faith they would be cured of the [sicknesses]. It was a sight [*cosa*] to see those that came quickly to the holy Cross on [their] knees, to touch it and kiss it, as they had seen me do. And among other [women] I saw come an Indian [woman] with toothache; and with great trouble she opened her mouth with her hands and brought her molars close to the holy Cross. And another [woman], in the pains of childbirth, came with the same faith and laid her belly to the holy Cross. And though I had there no interpreter, by whom to learn the result, I have great faith in the Divine Majesty that it would work even there its marvels in confirmation of its divine word. And since *non est vestrum nosce* [*re*] *tempora vel momenta, quæ posuit Deus in sua Potestate*,* He knoweth when the hour shall arrive so blessed for this nation; and I console myself with seeing for the present only the inclination which it [the Manso tribe] has.

BEGINNING OF THE APACHE NATION

Proceeding, then, still northward, thirty leagues by [way of] this Mansa nation, we run upon the huge [*grandiosa*] Apache nation.† In this part they are called [Apaches] of the Perrillo, from [the fact] that one discovered there [i. e. at Perrillo] a water-hole [*aguage*] which was of much importance for this road, since many leagues were passed without water, with the greatest hardship;[16] and thus has remained to this province the name of "Apaches of Perrillo." Of whom I will speak later in their place, for it is the largest [tribe] in the world. And although these Apaches are very warlike, they are more to be trusted than the foregoing nations, and we pass by way of them with less anxiety, until we reach the Rio del Norte again, on whose banks commence the settlements of New Mexico in the order following.

PROVINCE AND NATION OF THE PIROS, SENECU, SOCORRO, SEVILLETA

Arriving at this river on this side, [there] begin the first settlements, by the Piro province and nation,[17] with many pueblos, and houses of adobe, of one and two stories, with their corridors to the plazas. [It is] a people clothed and of republican [government], subject to their captains, great cultivators of all sort of seeds, their own as well as those we have brought them; [making] very great hunts of deer, cottontail rabbits, jackrabbits, and many sorts of fish in the river. The land of this province

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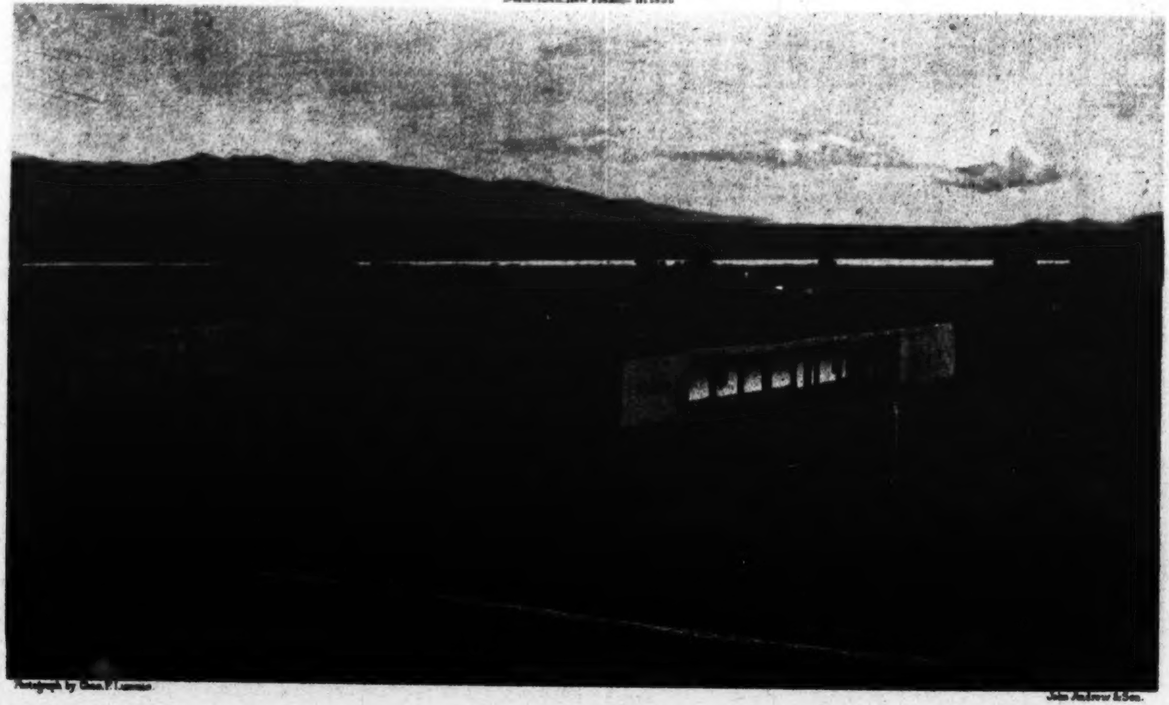
* Acts, 1, 7.

† For an account of the Apache, see note 43.



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PL. IV

ISLETA, THE RIO GRANDE, AND THE MANZANO RANGE.

is so fertile that all that is sown in it yields with much abundance, particularly the piñon,* which, though it is general through all that land, is much better in this province than in the others, because of the better climate which this has. Though this is the first province of that Kingdom, it was among the last in its conversion. God pleased that its hour should come: and in the year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Twenty-six, being Custodian of these conversions, I dedicated myself to the Lord in the conversion of those souls, dedicating their chief pueblo to the Most Holy Virgin of Socorro.[18] And so in that first year our Lord was pleased to favor me in such wise that all became baptized and are very good Christians. And I have founded in this province three monasteries† and churches; the one in the pueblo of Senecu, dedicated to San Antonio de Padua;[19] another in the pueblo of Pilabo, [dedicated] to the Virgin of Socorro; the other in the [pueblo] of Sivilleta [*sic*], dedicated to San Luis Obispo, of my Order.[20]

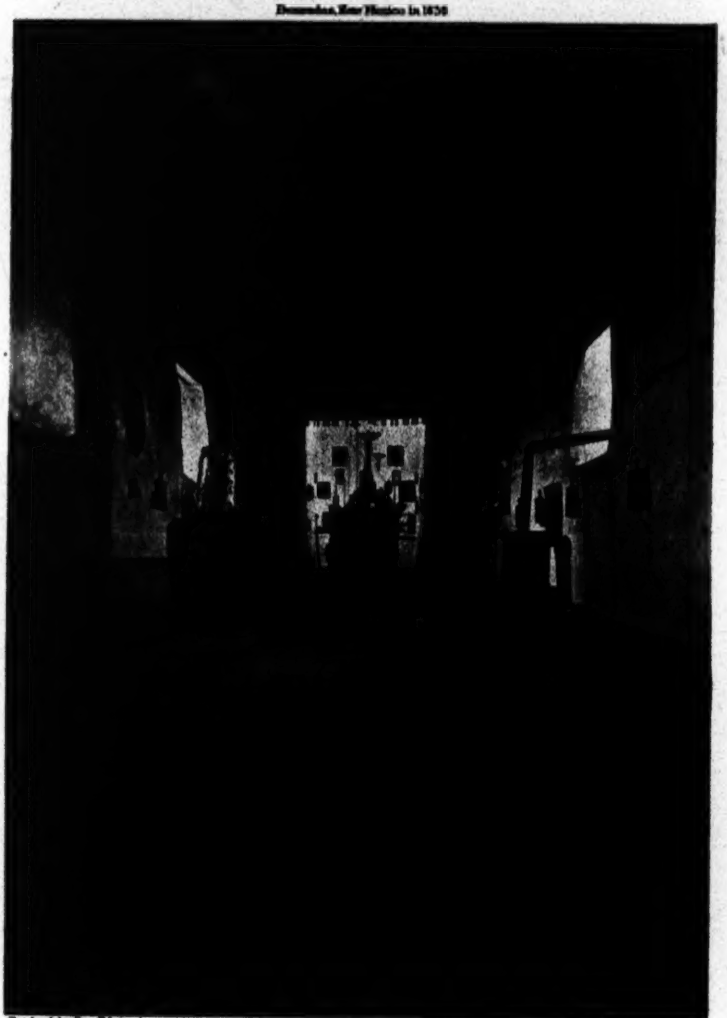
The beginning which the founding and pueblo of Sivilleta had, it is well that Your Majesty know. It was depopulated by wars with other nations, which burned it, and our Spaniards called it Sivilleta. Its natives wandered scattered over sundry hills. With them I founded that pueblo anew, and gathered there many others, wherewith it is today one of the best pueblos Your Majesty has there [in New Mexico]. Of these three monasteries, each has under its charge other neighboring pueblos, which the Religious attend to with great care and spirit. And to avoid prolixity, I refrain from relating here the risks, the cold [weather], the calamities and hardships, and the particular events which have befallen me in the conversion of this province; leaving all to God, for whom it was done.

* The little pine-nut of *Pinus edulis*, see plate 1.

† We translate *convento* "monastery" throughout, as "convent" in English is more popularly confined to houses for nuns.— C. F. L.

MINES OF SOCORRO

Of no less puissance is the temporal good which God our Lord hath been pleased to manifest in this Province, wherewith Your Majesty may recoup the great costs which like so Catholic a Monarch you are making to support, not only us, but also those churches. For all this [land] is full of very great treasures of mines,[21] very rich and prosperous in silver and gold; a thing which as a regular duty [*bien de ordinário*], as so devoted chaplains and vassals, we besought of God; and, making special effort by means of an intelligent person, we came to discover; for which, in name of Your Majesty, we give Him infinite thanks. In particular, the hill of the pueblo of Socorro, chief [town] and head of this Province of the Piros. For all of it is of very prosperous minerals, which run from north to south more than fifty leagues; and for want of someone who might understand it and spend [money] on working it, the greatest riches in the world are not enjoyed, and Your Majesty loses your Royal fifths. The ease with which the silver can be taken out from this hill is the greatest and best in all the Indies; and it will be worth more to get out a mark of silver here than many [marks] in the other mines; because in the rest all the materials and the food, and even to the water, have to be brought from very far, the cost of which eats up [*se lleva:* carries away] all the silver that is extracted. But in these mines of Socorro all is at the very foot of the work. And although it is true that at the beginnings of the conversions the Indians might be scared off by the labor of the mines, everything considered, I feel that if the [mines] were administered by persons of moderate greed, who would treat the Indians well and pay them for their work, conforming now at the beginning with their simple capacity, [which is] slack as to working, that not only would it not scare off the [Indians] but would win them by this path, and that they would submit themselves to treating and communication with us. And they them-



Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

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PL. V

INTERIOR OF THE ISLETA CHURCH.

selves, seeing and knowing that they were not treated ill, and that they were paid for their work, would come to offer themselves for it. With this it would be easier for us ministers to reduce them to peace. Everything considered, I determined to take out a quantity of ores from different veins of those mines, and I gave them to sundry miners of New Spain. Having made assays of them, and [the assays] revealing so much riches, these [miners] were getting ready to enter New Mexico with workmen [*gente*] to work the [mines], and the Viceroy was making very extensive assays, with zeal for the service of Your Majesty, to augment in this quarter your Royal fifths. This province of the Piros extends along up the Rio del Norte, from the first pueblo of San Antonio de Senecu up to the last, San Luis de Sevilleta, fifteen leagues, where there are fourteen pueblos, on one and the other side of the river, in which must be [*aurá*] six thousand souls, all baptized; with three monasteries, as has been said, in which the Religious besides the teaching and indoctrination of our Holy Catholic Faith, teach [them] to sing, read and write, and all the trades, and to live in civilized fashion [*politicamente*] in their schools.

THE TÉOAS NATION

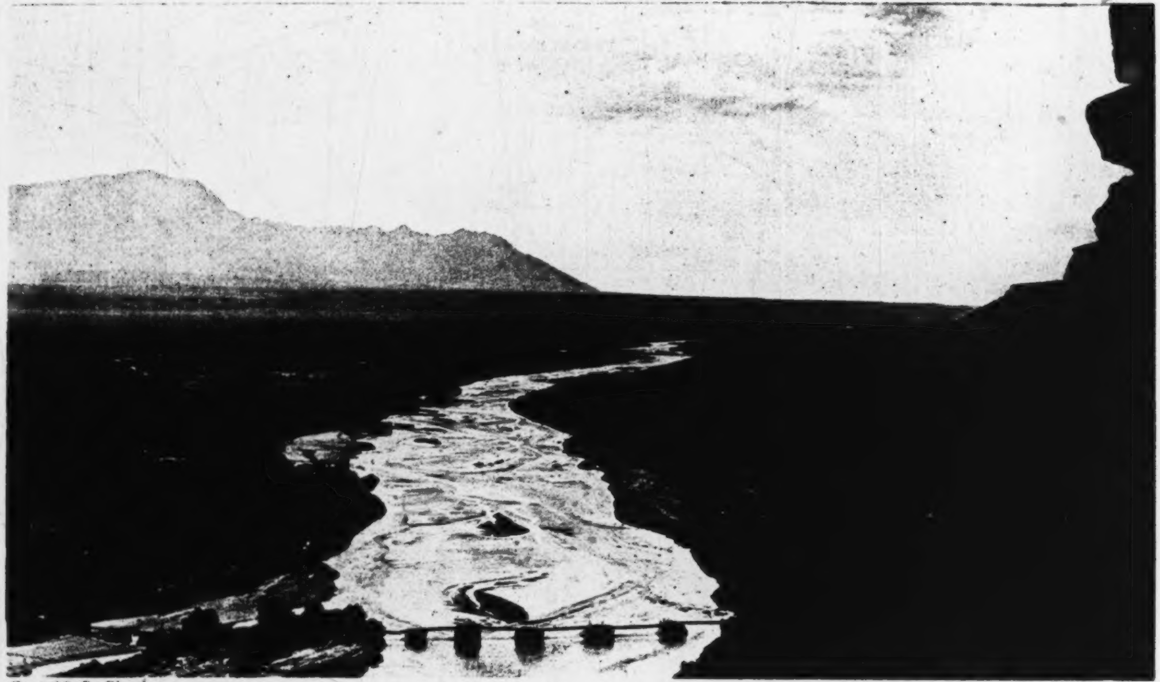
Proceeding up the same river seven leagues, there commences the Teoas nation,[22] with fifteen or sixteen pueblos, in which must be seven thousand souls, in a district of twelve or thirteen leagues, all baptized; with two monasteries, that is, the one of San Francisco de Sandia[23] and that of San Antonio de la Isleta.[24] At these there are schools of reading and writing, singing, and playing all instruments; and [the pupils are] well taught in the Doctrine [*dotrinados*], and with much care in the polite [or civilized, *política*] life. These two monasteries and churches are very costly and beautiful [*curiosas*], [thanks to] the solicitousness and ardor of the Religious who founded them. And all the other pueblos have also their very beautiful churches.

QUERES NATION

Passing forward another four leagues, the Queres nation commences with its first pueblo [that] of San Felipe, and extends more than ten leagues, in seven pueblos.[25] There must be [*aura*, for *habrá*] in them four thousand souls, all baptized. There are three monasteries and churches, very costly and beautiful, aside from those which each pueblo has. These Indians are very dexterous in reading, writing, and playing on all instruments, and craftsmen in all the crafts, [thanks to] the great industry of the Religious who converted them. It is also a very fertile land in everything that is sown in it.

TOMPIRAS NATION

Leaving the Rio del Norte, and departing toward the east [really southeast] ten leagues from the foregoing nation, the Tompiras nation[26] begins with its first pueblo [that] of Chilili,[27] and extends in that direction more than fifteen leagues, with fourteen or fifteen pueblos, in which there must be more than ten thousand souls; with six monasteries and very good churches; all [are] converted, and for the most part [*los demas*] baptized, and others are being catechized and taught, and with their [training] schools of all trades, as in the other [pueblos]. The land [is] little fruitful, by reason of the many cold spells and the few waters. In this province are the splendid [*grandiosas*] salines, ten leagues from the mines of Socorro. I cannot refrain from telling here a saying of the Demon, by the mouth of an Indian wizard [who was] convinced of the word of God. When I began the conversion of the great pueblo of the Xumanas, the which I dedicated to the glorious San Isidoro, Archbishop of Sevilla, because of



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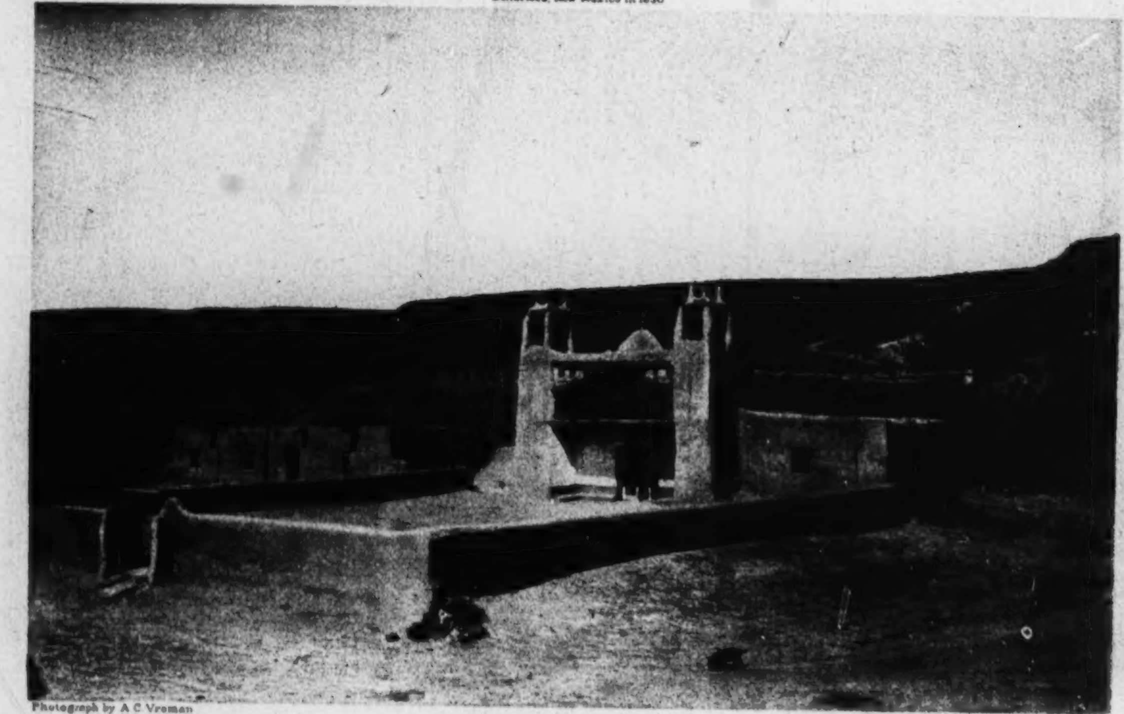
PL. VI

VALLEY OF THE RIO GRANDE AT SAN FELIPE, N.M.
INDIAN BRIDGE, PUEBLO OF SAN FELIPE, AND SANDIA MOUNTAINS.



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PL. VII

THE CHURCH AT SAN FELIPE

having made [begun] the conversion on his day.[*] And it befell that seeing himself convinced, and that under my reasoning all the pueblo had determined to be Christian, the wizard was much angered and said at the top of his voice [*á vozes*]: "You Spaniards and Christians, how crazy you are! And you live like crazy folks! You want to teach us that we be [crazy] also!" I asked him wherein we were crazy. And he must have seen some procession of penance [*diciplina*] during Holy Week in some pueblo of Christians, and so he said: "You Christians are so crazy that you go all together, flogging yourselves like crazy people in the streets, shedding [your] blood.[†] And thus you must wish that this pueblo be also crazy!" And with this, greatly angered and yelling [*dando voces*], he went forth from the pueblo, saying that *he* did not wish to be crazy. Over which matter all were left laughing, and I much more, since I recognized and was persuaded that it was the Demon, who [thus] went fleeing, confounded by the virtue of the divine word.

TANOS NATION

Returning, then, toward the north, another ten leagues, we strike the first and principal pueblo of the Tanos nation,[38] which [the "nation"] extends for ten leagues in five pueblos, where there must be four thousand souls baptized, with one monastery and a very good church. And the pueblos each have them [churches] likewise, to say Mass in which they go from the monastery. There are here [training] schools of all trades, as in the rest [of the pueblos].

PECCOS NATION

To the same north, another four leagues, one strikes the pueblo of the Peccos, which contains more than two thousands souls.[29] Here there is a monastery and a very splendid [*luzido*] temple, of distinguished workmanship and beauty, in which a Religious put very great labor and care. And although these Indians are of the Hemes nation,* being here alone and strayed out of their territory, they are taken for a separate nation, though it is one same tongue. It is a most frigid land, and little fertile, though it gives the necessary corn for its inhabitants, since they plant much. These Indians are very well trained [*industriados*] in all the crafts, and in their schools of reading, writing, singing, and instrument-playing, like the rest.

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[*] Isidorus Hispalensis, or Isidore of Sevilla, born at Cartagena about 560, died at Sevilla, 636. His day is April 4. Not to be confused with Saint Isidore the Laborer, the "Farmer of Madrid."—F. W. H.

[†] An early reference to the "Penitentes" in New Mexico. Consult *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, Lummis, New York, 1893, chap. IV. See note 10.

CHARTERED TOWN [VILLA] OF SANTA FÉ

Turning back from the foregoing pueblo, seven leagues toward the west, is the Villa of Santa Fé,[30] head of this Kingdom, where reside the governors [i.e., officials of government] and the Spaniards, who must number as many as two hundred and fifty, though only some fifty of them can arm themselves, for lack of weapons. And though few and ill-equipped, God hath permitted that they should always come out victorious; and hath caused among the Indians so great fear of them and of their arquebuses that with only hearing it said that a Spaniard is going to their pueblos they flee. And to keep up this fear, when it is in order [*se ofrece*] to punish some rebellious pueblo, they use great rigors with them. Were it not for this, many times they would have tried to kill the Spaniards, seeing them so far from New Spain whence any succor might come to them. All the soldiers are well doctrinated [taught the catechism] and humble, and of good example, for the most part, to the Indians. Your Majesty supports this presidio, not with pay from

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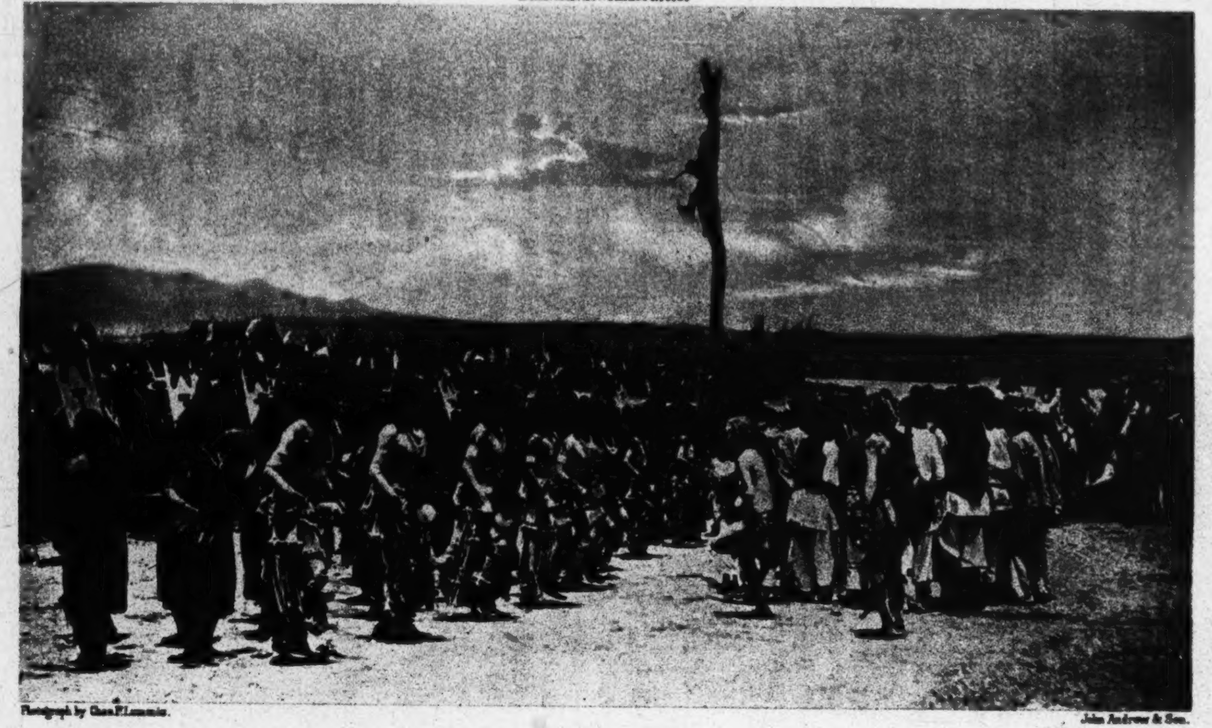
*See note 32.



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PL. VIII

A DANCE (THE AYASH-TYÚ-COTZ) AT COCHITÍ.

your Royal coffers, but making them *encomenderos* * of those pueblos, by hand of the Governor. The tribute which the Indians pay them is for each house one *manta*, which is one vara [33 inches] of cotton cloth, and one fanega † of corn each year, wherewith the needy Spaniards sustain themselves. They must have in service seven hundred souls; so that between Spaniards, half-breeds [*mestizos*], and Indians there must be a thousand souls [in Santa Fe]. And it is a folk so punctual in obedience to its governors that unto whatsoever fracas comes up they sally with their weapons and horses at their own cost and do valorous deeds. There lacked only the principal [thing], which was the church. The one they had was a poor hut, for the religious attended first to building the churches for the Indians they were converting and with whom they were ministering and living. And so, as soon as I came in as Custodian [1622] I commenced to build the church and monastery — and to the honor and glory of God our Lord, it would shine in whatsoever place. There already the Religious teach Spaniards and Indians to read and write, to play [instruments] and sing, and all the trades of civilization [*policia*]. Though cold, the spot is the most fertile in all New Mexico.

TEOAS NATION

Proceeding farther westward, toward the Rio del Norte, which we have left, begins the Teoas nation.[31] This province extends over a space of eleven or twelve leagues, by eight pueblos, in which must be six thousand souls. This nation was first in this Kingdom to be baptized, on which they pride themselves much; and very friendly to the Spaniards, whom they aid more than the ordinary and accompany them in all their wars. It has three monasteries, and churches of much beauty [*curiosidad*]. Particularly that [church] of San Ildefonso, upon which the Religious who founded it put much care. And all the pueblos have their churches, where the [Religious] go to say Mass for them; and [the Indians] are very well instructed in all the trades. The land is very fertile because a Religious has brought it water for the irrigation of its seed-lands. And [there is] much fish in the Rio del Norte, which passes by there.

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* "Given in charge." Trustees. The *encomienda* was a trusteeship over the Indians, one of the early devices of the great Indian policy of Spain. In return for his privileges, the *encomendero* had to teach and Christianize his wards at his own expense.—C. F. L.

† A fanega varied, according to times and places, from 1.6 bushels to 2.49 bushels. For another reference to trade in woven cotton, see page 56.—C. F. L.

HEMES NATION

Passing over this river to the westward, at seven leagues one strikes the Hemes[22] nation, the which, when I came in as Custodian, had been dissipated through all the Kingdom, and already almost depopulated by famine and wars which were on the way to finish them off [*los ivan acabando*]. There the most part were already baptized, and had their churches, by the hard enough travail and care of sundry Religious. And so I promptly endeavored [*procurē*] to reclaim it and to gather it again in the same province, and placed [there] a Religious * who attended to it with care. And we have congregated it [the "nation"] in two pueblos; that is, in the [pueblo] of San Joseph, which was still standing, with a very sumptuous and beautiful church and monastery; and in the [pueblo] of San Diego, of the Congregation, which for this purpose, we founded new, bringing thither what Indians there were of that nation who were going about astray. Likewise giving them a house [we had] made, and in it food for some days, and plowed lands for their planting. For these and other like expenditures of charity we Religious are wont to barter even unto the sackcloth [*sayal*] which Your Majesty gives us in alms

* Fray Martin de Arvide. See note 6.

THE CHURCH AT SIA

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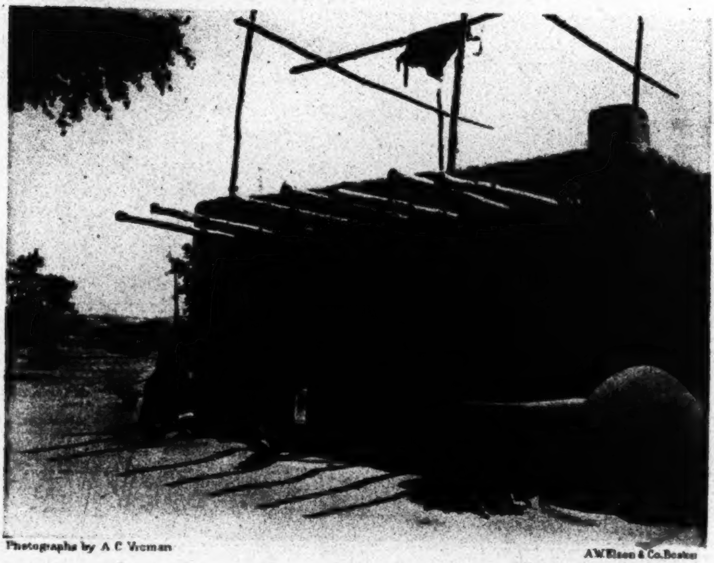
PL. IX

THE CHURCH AT COCHITÍ

THE CHURCH AT SANTA ANA



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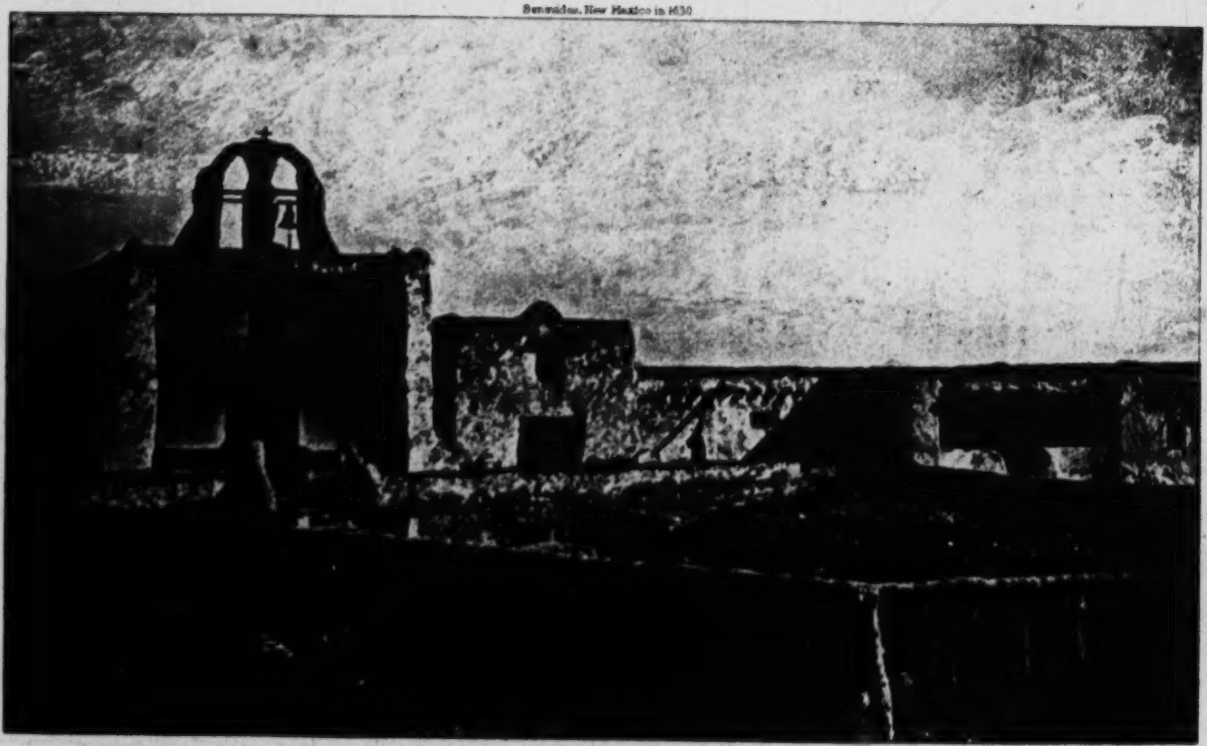
PL. X THE GOVERNOR OF SAN JUAN AND HIS FAMILY for our vesture. And so that congregation is today one of the best pueblos in the Indies; with its church and monastery and schools of all trades, as in the rest. And although more than the half of this nation have died, Your Majesty has withal more than three thousand tributaries congregated there.

PICURIES NATION

Turning back, then, to the Teoas nation, from which we came out to go to the Hemes, [and] following the river up-stream to the north ten leagues, we arrive at the pueblo of the Picuries,[33] which must have two thousand souls, already baptized, with their monastery and church, where they are well doctrinated and taught. This has been the most indomitable and treacherous people in that Kingdom; and sundry Religious have suffered much by them; [for] they have even gone so far as to lay hands on them [the priests] and maltreat them, in hatred of our Holy Catholic Faith, from which proceeds so much virtue. And the Religious whom they have at this moment [*actualmente*], they have several times desired to kill; and our Lord hath miraculously delivered him from them — as for instance [*como es*] when they went forth to seize him and kill him on the road, they were covered with a cold sweat in his presence, and trembled with fear; and on another occasion, at the time when they entered [his room] to lay hands on him, [he] was rendered [*quedar*] invisible and [they] went away confounded. And today, God be praised, they are very pacific and well doctrinated. And though these Indians are of the Teoas [Tigua] nation, being so far separated from it they are put by themselves [*suponen por si;* probably a misprint for *se ponen*]. It is a very fertile land, which yields its fruits in a short time and with much abundance. [It has] very good river-waters, and trout in them. Likewise it has mines of very fine garnets, but [y] there is nobody to apply himself to work them [that is, cut the garnets, masculine].[34]

TAOS NATION

Forward to the same northward, another seven leagues, is the pueblo of the Taos,[88] of the same nation as the foregoing, although the language varies somewhat. It has two thousand five hundred souls baptized; with its monastery and church, which two Religious who have had charge of this conversion have founded with much care. These Indians are very well doctrinated. And in the bygone year of [One Thousand] Six Hundred and Twenty-seven, the Lord confirmed His Holy Word by a miracle among them. And it was [thus]: It went hard with them to give up having many wives as they used to have before [they were] baptized; and each day the Religious preached to them the truth of the holy Sacrament of Matrimony; and the one that most contradicted this was an old Indian woman, a sorceress, who, under pretext of going to the country for firewood, took out four other women with her. [These were] good Christians and married according to the rule of our Holy Mother Church; and going and coming, she kept persuading them that they should not consent to the method of marriage which the Father taught, for that which they used to use in their gentilism was better. The which [argument] the good Christian women steadily [*siempre*, always] resisted. And as they were arriving [again] already near the pueblo, the sorceress not ceasing from her sermon, and the heavens being clear and serene, a thunderbolt fell and slew that infernal mistress of the Demon, right between the good Christians who were resisting her evil doctrine. And they remained very free from the thunderbolt and very [much] confirmed in the truth of the holy Sacrament of Matrimony. Directly all the pueblo flocked thither; and seeing that rap from heaven, all those who were living in secret concubinage got married, and believed very sincerely all which the Father taught them. He promptly made them a sermon there, upon the event; and he preaches to them all the feast-days, as is done in



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PL. XI

PUEBLO OF SANTO DOMINGO.
THE OLD AND OLDER CHURCHES AND MONASTERY DESTROYED BY FLOOD, 1886

the rest of the monasteries. The glory be to God our Lord. It is a land very cold, and most abundant in provisions and flocks.

CRAG OF ACOMA

Returning, then, backward to the position of the Queres nation, [and] going out twelve leagues to the west from its last pueblo, Santa Ana, one arrives at the *Peñol* of Acoma,[38] which has cost so many lives of Spaniards and friendly Indians, as well because it is of chopped-off [*tajada*] cliff and inexpugnable, as because of the valor of its inhabitants, who must be close to [*al piè de*] two thousand souls. And the past year of [16]29 God was pleased that we should reclaim them to peace, and today they have a Religious who is catechising them and baptizing. And the Lord hath confirmed with a miracle the virtue of this holy Sacrament of Baptism. And it was, that when an infant of one year was dying, and already at the last gasp, in the arms of its mother who was beweeping it for dead, the Religious who was there teaching them said to her that if she so much loved her daughter she should let her be baptized, so that if she were to die she might go to enjoy eternal glory in heaven. And though the mother was a heathen, she believed the Father and besought him that he would baptize the [child]. To the which, the Religious said to her: "Have faith, then, Daughter; for this holy water of Baptism is powerful to revive thy daughter." And as he cast it upon her, saying the words, it was a marvelous thing; for instantly the child raised herself well and sound, and besieged the breasts of her mother, and turned very smiling and cooingly to the priest; showing by actions, since she was unable to talk, her thankfulness for the good he had done her. Whereat all those Indians remained very [much] confirmed in the Faith, and with devotion got themselves taught hurriedly to pray that they might be baptized. Blessed be God for all.

CUÑI NATION

Following on still farther west, thirty leagues, one arrives at the Province of Cuñi,[47] where are eleven or twelve pueblos in a stretch of nine or ten leagues. Therein are more than ten thousand souls, converted, who go on being catechised and baptized; with two monasteries and churches. Wherein the Religious who are there have passed and still pass, many difficulties and travails, because of the great resistance the sorcerers make to them. And as God is over all, the Religious always come out victorious. And our Lord hath wrought there many strange things, which will be seen in the account of all the above-said, which I defer. It is a land very fertile in every sort of provisions.

MOQUI NATION

Following on another thirty leagues to the same westward, one reaches the Province of Moqui,[48] of the same quantity [of towns] as the foregoing Zuñi, with other ten thousand souls who are being catechised and baptized; whose baptism, and the divine word, the Lord hath confirmed with the following miracle. It is a general custom among all the infidel Indians to receive the Religious in their pueblos very well in the beginning, and submit themselves soon to Baptism; but seeing, when they are catechised, that they have to give up their idolatries and sorceries, the sorcerers so resent it that they disquiet all, and turn them aside that they be not Christians. Not only this, but they drive the Religious out of the pueblo, and if not, they kill him. Thus it befell in the principal pueblo * of this Province of Moqui; that they received very well the Father who went to convert them, and his companions, and a few soldiers who were there for escort with them. And seeing that the Religious, with an original Cross of [which had belonged to] the Mother Luisa

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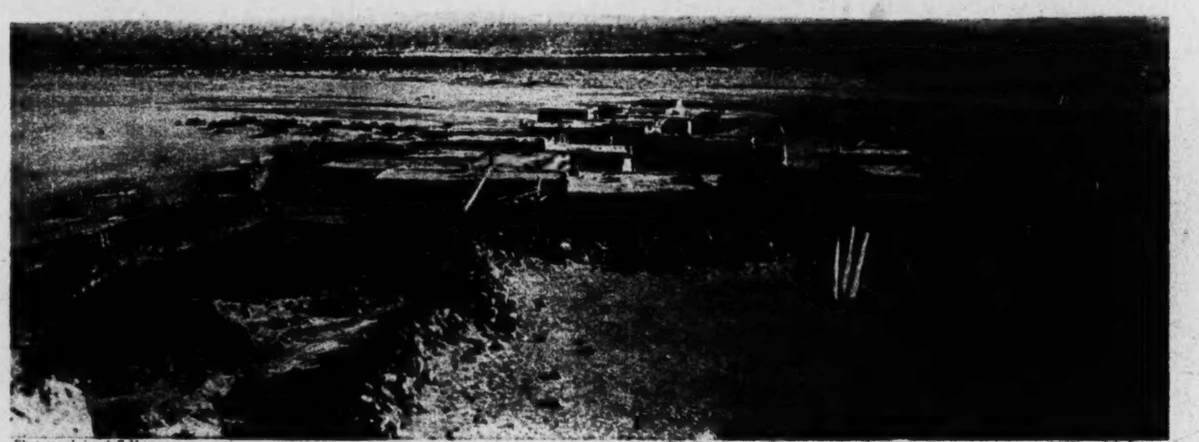
* San Bernardo (or Bernardino) de Awatobi.



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PL. XII

PUEBLO OF SIA.

de Carrion,* constrained them with lively and efficacious reasoning, to the adoration of one God and Lord, Creator of all things, and who for our Redemption had died upon a Cross like that [one] which they were under obligation to adore likewise, and not their idols with which the Demon had them so deceived — at this the sorcerers were irritated; and seeing that they were being deprived of the jurisdiction which as infernal ministers they had over those souls, they persuaded all the people that the Religious and all those who accompanied him were so many liars who were going to fool them, and that therefore they should kill them. And when they wished to carry this into effect, on sundry occasions, they dared not, on account of the vigilance of the soldiers, but chiefly on account of heaven's aid. After this, a troop of them came and brought a boy of twelve to thirteen years, blind from birth, who was born with his eyes closed, and without the suspicion of being able to see. And they said to the Religious these words: "Thou must be some great liar! And so, if it is true all this that thou sayest of that [thing] which thou callest Cross, put it on the eyes of this boy. And if with that he shall open them, we will confess that it is truth, all that thou preachest to us. But if not, we have to kill thee, or drive thee out confounded." The Religious, in view of this, with the concern and devoutness which can be imagined in like case, threw himself upon his knees, and with that same Cross in his hands and his eyes to heaven, besought the Divine Majesty that, for the confounding of those barbarous infidels, and that they might adore His most holy name and Cross, He would there work with it His marvels. He rose, and with the greatest faith laid the [cross] upon the eyes of the blind boy. And at once, in the same instant, he opened them and began to cry aloud, marveling that he saw. Whereupon they caught up the boy in their arms and bore

*See notes 2 and 55.

him through the streets and plazas,[*] proclaiming in great shouts the miracle, and that all should be Christians and be baptized and do that which the Father taught them; that [his] was the truth, and that their sorcerers were so many liars who had kept them fooled. And thus they submitted themselves promptly to that which the Father and his companions taught them for being baptized, and held them in great love and respect. *Blessed be the name of the Lord.* And although in all the foregoing conversions our Lord hath wrought many marvels, I have avoided relating them now,[†] deferring them for the general history of that land, which, with the favor of heaven I am making; and I have wished to relate to Your Majesty the aforesaid miracles only because our Lord hath wrought them all the past year of [Sixteen Hundred and] Twenty-nine, since Your Majesty deigned to provide the more ministers.

CEREMONIES OF THE HEATHENISM

These are the populations which we have, in this region, converted and baptized, in what we call New Mexico; that is, from the first pueblo of the Province of the Piros, San Antonio Senecu, up the Rio del Norte as far as the pueblo of San Geromino de los Taos. They are in a stretch of a hundred leagues.[‡] The which pueblos are on one side and the other of the river, and sundry of them somewhat off the road seven or eight leagues [away] on other small stream-beds. All of which [together] must have close to eighty thousand souls.[39] All these folk and nations were in their gentilism divided into two factions, warriors and sorcerers. The warriors tried, in opposition to the sorcerers, to bring all the people under

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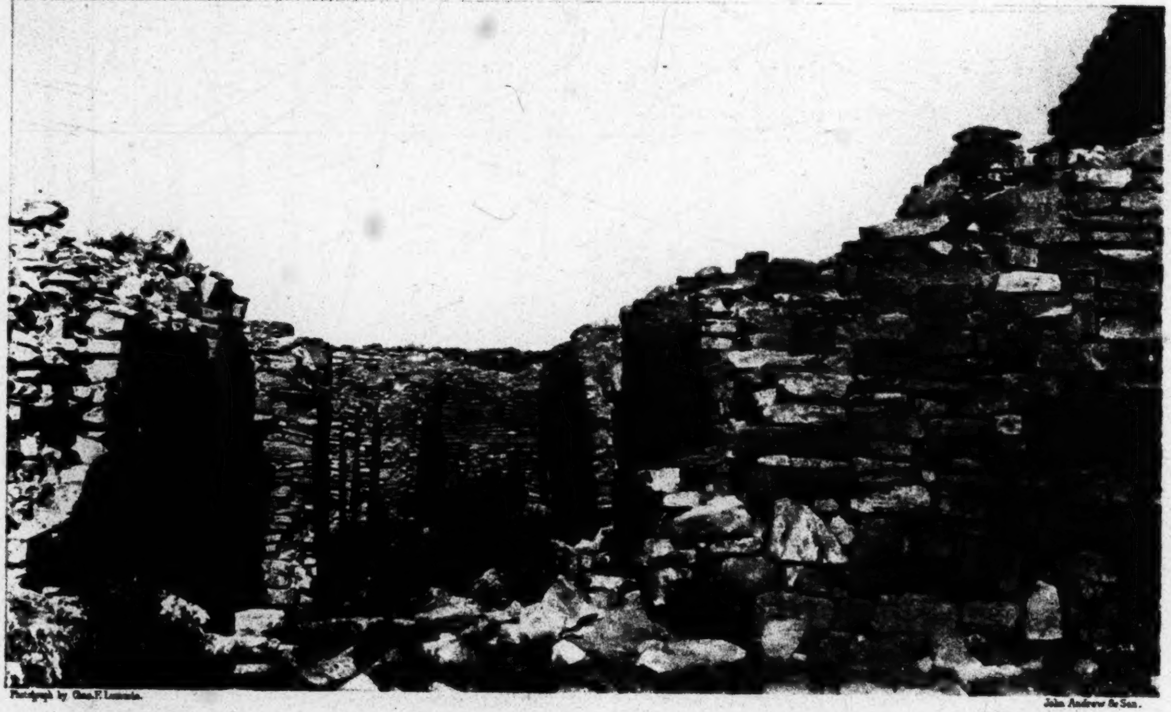
[*] The familiar plaza or public square of all Southwestern pueblos.

[†] Perea (*Segunda Relación*, 1633) also mentions this miracle, although rather indefinitely and more conservatively: "But they [the Hopi] came forth from all their doubts and were converted to our holy Faith, by a great miracle which our Lord wrought in that pueblo [Awatobi] through the medium of his servants. Of the which, for now, report is not made, since it has not become authenticated."

[‡] That is, by the route taken to visit all the pueblos on the way.—F. W. H.



Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

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PL. XIII

THE "CONVENTO" AT TABIRÁ, "EL GRAN QUIVIRA".

their [own] dominion and authority; and the sorcerers, with the same opposition, persuaded all that *they* made the rain fall and the earth yield good crops, and other things at which the warriors sneered. Wherefore there were between them continuous civil wars, so great that they killed each other [off] and laid waste whole pueblos, wherein the Demon had his usual crop. Their religion, though it was not formal idolatry, was nearly so, since they made offerings for whatsoever action. As, at the time when they were going out to fight their enemies, they offered up flour * and other things to the scalps of those they had slain of the hostile nation. If they were going to hunt, they offered up flour to heads of deer, jackrabbits, cottontail rabbits, and other dead animals. If to fish, they made offerings to the river. The women who wished that the men should desire them, went out into the country fat and well, and set up a stone or some small pole on some hill, and there offered flour to it; and for eight days, or as many as they could [endure], did not eat, except something to disturb their stomachs and provoke vomiting; and they flogged themselves cruelly. And when they could endure no more, and from fat had made themselves lean and of the mien of the Demon, they returned [to the pueblo] very confident that the first man that might see them would desire them, and would give them *mantas* — which is their chief end. But this adoration of these poles and stones is in nowise reverential; for it makes no odds to them [the Indians] that [people] trample upon them nor spit upon them [the sticks or stones], but as a ceremonial they put them thus. To make one a captain, they used to come together in a plaza and tie him naked to a pillar; and with some cruel thistles they all flogged him, and they afterward entertained him with farces and other jestings. And if to all he was very unruffled and did not weep nor make grimaces at the one, nor laugh at the other, they confirmed him for a very valiant captain.[*] And in this manner the Demon kept them deceived with a thousand superstitions. This has always been a people of government and a republic; the old men coming together with the chief captain, to confer and judge the things that were suitable. And when these had been determined, the *capitan mayor* went forth in person proclaiming through the pueblo that which was ordered. And this is, even today, an action of great authority, this proclaiming by the chief captains what has to be done in the pueblo.

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* *Harina.* This votive offering was, as it still is, their own corn-meal. See Lummis, *The Man who Married the Moon*, pp. 55 et seq., and *Strange Corners of Our Country*, chap. xx.

HOW WELL THEY SUPPORT THE AFFAIRS OF CHRISTIANITY

Today, to the honor and glory of God our Lord, with the affable care which we Religious have used with them, they are so well doctrinated and [good] Christians that when we ring the bell for Mass and the [teaching of the] Doctrine, they all come with the greatest cleanliness and neatness that they can, and enter the church to pray, as if they were Christians of very long standing; and the boys and girls who always come morning and evening to the Doctrine, attend with very great care [and] without fail; and the choristers in the chapels change about by their weeks [week by week], and sing every day in the church, at their hours, the Morning Mass, High Mass, and Vespers, with great punctuality. And all make confession in their [own] tongue, and prepare themselves for the confession, studying out their sins and bringing them marked on knotted threads.[†] And they are always of notable

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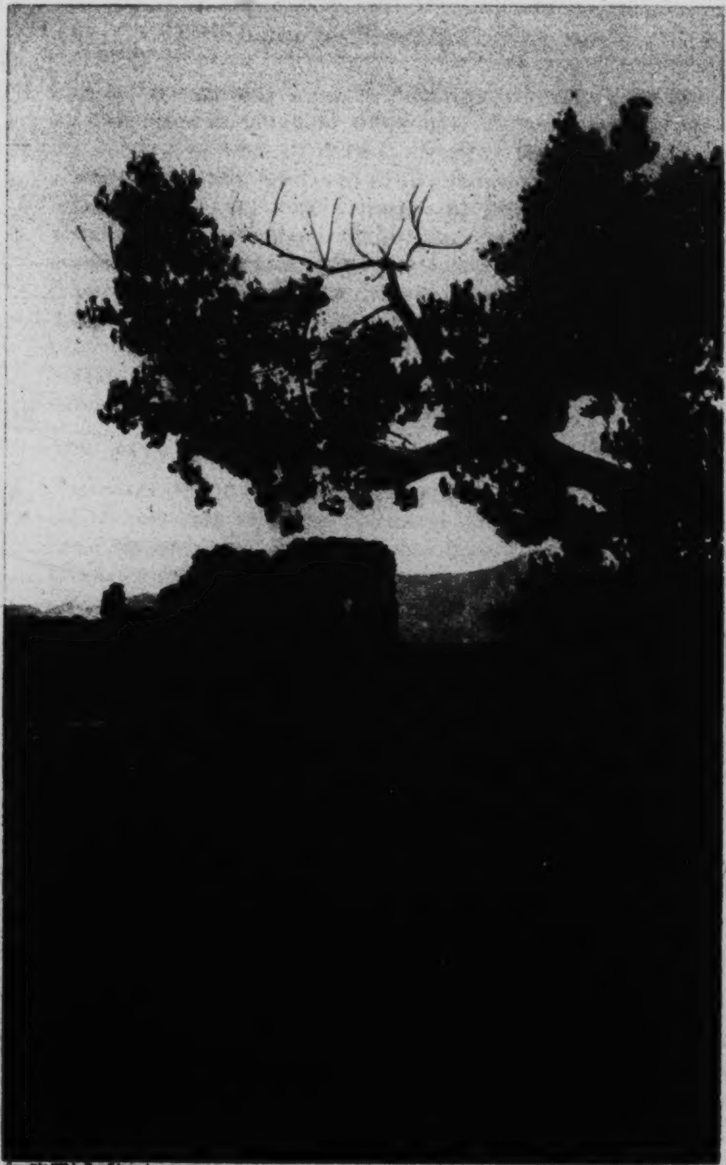
[*] The author here endeavors to describe the initiation of a candidate for membership in one of the secret orders or societies, such as the Priesthood of the Bow (*Apiklanshiwani*) of the Zuñi tribe. One of the tests of endurance was to compel the initiate to sit naked all day in the broiling sun on a large ant-hill, where he must submit to the stinging bites of the maddened insects without a murmur.—F. W. H.

[†] The Zuñi at least still make use of this form of time-keeping device. The writer knows a member of this tribe who, during a visit of several months away from home, kept account of the time by tying a knot in a string each day during



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Pl. XIV

THE CHURCH AT ABÓ.

submission and affection toward the Religious who minister to them; and scarcely does one [of them] begin to be sick before [when] he comes quickly to see the Religious, or sends to call him, believing that only with seeing him he will be healed. And if the sickness goes farther, he confesses himself for death. This is the continuous occupation of the Religious, treating them in their sicknesses and supplying all their necessities. And so they have a notable affection for them and for the things of the Church, which they attend with notable love and devotion. As all the churches and monasteries they have made, fully testify. Of all the which it will seem an enchantment to state that sumptuous and beautiful as they are, they were built solely by the women and by the boys and girls of the curacy. For among these nations it is the custom for the women to build the walls; and the men spin and weave their *mantas*, and go to war and the chase; and if we [try to] oblige some man to build wall, he runs away from it, and the women laugh. And with this [work of women] there have been built more than fifty churches,* with roofs, [with] very beautiful carvings and fretwork [*laceria*, nets], and the walls very well painted. For there are marvelous highlands of every sort of timber; and with the care that we Religious have put to teaching the Indians of the curacy, there are very good craftsmen in carpentry and in all the crafts. And thus they are today so well instructed in everything, particularly in the things of the Faith and Christianity, that it causes wonder to see that in less than twenty years which have [passed] since the baptizing began, and particularly in the last eight years, wherein the harvest of souls has been more abundant,

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the absence. The ancient Peruvians made more or less elaborate and complicated *quipus* for keeping count. It will be recalled that when the rebellion of the Pueblos of New Mexico was plotted in 1680, a knotted string indicating the number of days to elapse before the uprising was sent from tribe to tribe. —F. W. H.

*See footnote, page 6, regarding Zárate Salmerón's statement of the number of churches and baptisms.

they seem Christians of a hundred years' [standing]. If we go passing along the roads, and they see us from their pueblos or fields, they all come forth to meet us with very great joy, saying: "Praised be our Lord Jesus Christ! Praised be the most holy Sacrament!"[*] And when we arrive at their pueblos they meet us with nosegays and regale us with fish or with whatever they have; and the captain of the pueblo gives us welcome and compliments, for that, being Priests of God, we honor their pueblos wherein they used to live like savages; and other sayings [*razones*] after this fashion. They are all a folk who dress themselves in *mantas* of cotton, and [in] skins, and in their fashion try to deck themselves out [as well] as they can; in particular, with necklaces and earrings of turquoises, for they have mines of these,[†] and cut them [*las labran*], though imperfectly. And the women dress themselves honestly,[‡] with their *mantas* of cotton figured [*pintadas*, lit. painted] and broidered with the same.

WHAT THAT KINGDOM OWES UNTO YOUR MAJESTY

This land and its inhabitants, then, having been [ever] since God created them, subject to the Demon, and his slaves until this time; and all filled [*poblado*, lit. populated] with estufas[40] of idolatry; where they not only never

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[*] None of the Pueblos were ever so thoroughly converted to the teachings of the missionaries as Benavides states, for there has never been a time from the period of Coronado to the present day, that they have not held tenaciously to their primitive beliefs and practiced their ancient rites. To be sure some of the Pueblos have assumed an outward form of Christianity, but this in no wise has influenced their purely aboriginal religious ceremonies. The Pueblos of New Mexico are baptized and are enumerated as Catholics.—F. W. H.

[†] The famous prehistoric turquoise mines in "Mt. Chalchihuitl," near Cerrillos, New Mexico. For a good account of the use of turquoise by the Pueblos, see J. E. Pogue, The Turquoise: A Study of its History, Mineralogy, Geology, Ethnology, Archæology, Mythology, Folklore, and Technology, *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. XII, pt. 2, 3d memoir, Washington, 1915. Consult also Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, 93, 1892; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. I, 314–315, 1911. See note 29.

[‡] That is, modestly, decently, as in our old phrase "an honest woman."

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PL. XV

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AT QUARAÍ.

adored the most holy name of Jesus but did not even know it, nor his most holy Cross; and all the land being today, in so brief years, filled with churches and with pedestals of Crosses, which the inhabitants salute aloud, praising the most holy Sacrament of the Altar* and the most holy name of Jesus Christ; and when the bell is rung for the Ave Marias they fall on their knees, wheresoever the sound [*voz*] may reach them, and with cries adore the most holy Virgin, praying aloud the accustomed three Ave Marias; and the same when they hear the tolling for souls [*plegaria de las animas*]†, praying a Pater Noster and Ave Maria; a land where it seemed the Demon corrupted the [very] airs with his presence and made them uninhabitable, and today [these airs] are so changed and inoffensive, for carrying through them the most holy Sacrament uncovered in the processions; and that to make his reform and change, God should have selected ministers so poor as the sons of my Father St. Francis — it seems that *contemptibilia elegit, Deus, ut confundat fortia.*‡ Though here it is clearly and evidently seen that God is author and prime mover, for which we give Him infinite thanks. We owe them also to Your Majesty, since without your Royal aid we could not have borne so many expenses. And Your Majesty should be very proud to be cause of all this change; who enjoy all the merit of those conversions, wherein we snatch so many thousands of souls from the claws of the Demon, a thing that could not be, save by a miracle. For [*y*] God left it and referred it to Your Majesty, in order that by means so Catholic, and by your Royal expenditures, you should enjoy so many spiritual and temporal treasures. Already [*y a*, probably misprint for *ya*] all the Indians, whom we teach with so much concern, always commend Your Majesty to God, since at so much cost you sent them, and maintain there, ministers and churches, for the salvation of their souls; and they do it [pray for you] regularly. And we, the Religious, as so loving and indebted vassals and chaplains, never fail, either in the Mass or in our private prayers — in that so remote Kingdom of yours, and in that primitive church where our Lord worketh so many marvels — to commend Your Majesty to God. In all and for all be the honor and glory to God our Lord.

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* The Eucharist.

† The ringing for prayers for the souls in purgatory.

‡ 1st Corinthians, I. 27: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty."

FERTILITY OF THE LAND

All this land is most fertile, yielding with very great abundance all that is planted in it — corn, wheat, pink beans [*frijoles*], lentils, peas, beans [*habas*], vetches, pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, cucumbers, all sorts of garden-stuff [*verdura*], cabbages, lettuce, carrots, artichokes [*cardos*], peppers, onions, prickly-pears, pitahayas, very good plums, apricots, peaches, nuts, acorns, mulberries, and many other [fruits] which I leave [unsaid] to avoid tediousness. Only, I mention separately the trees of piñon nuts,* which are of a different species from those of Spain, for they [the nuts] are large and tender to crack, and the trees and cones [are] small. And so great is the quantity that it seems interminable, and of so much esteem that a fanega [of the nuts] is worth in Mexico [city] twenty-three and twenty-four dollars; and they who turn to sell them again [at retail] make money on them. And so fertile is the land that it has been seen to harvest a hundred and twenty, and a hundred and thirty, fanegas to [each] fanega sown of wheat; and it has happened that they have harvested very good crops from the stubble of the year before, without having given it any other working than a little irrigating.

FISH

It has likewise many rivers in which are fish in great

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* The *Pinus edulis*, still gathered in large quantities in New Mexico. See plate I.

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PL. XVI

THE RUINS OF THE PUEBLO OF PECOS.

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Pl. XVII

RUINS OF THE "TEMPLO MUY LUZIDO" AT PECOS.

abundance; and great sloughs [*esteros*], and particularly the Rio del Norte. This, when it carries least water, and we can ford it, comes up to the saddle; and when it goes swollen, it is of rapid and great current, with the water that it receives from the melted snows alone. And the same of the rest of the small rivers [*riachuelos*] which unite with it. All the which are very abundant in catfish [*bagres*], trout [*truchas*], silvery chubs [*sardinas*], eels, shovel-noses [*agujas*], *matalotas*, suckers [*boquinetes*], garpikes [*cassones*], and many others.[41]

GAME

The abundance of game appears infinite. There are deer of many different species, and some like large mules [for size][*] and they have also a tail like a mule. And others as great as these, though the tail is after the fashion of other deer: very thick with hair [so] that it seems [as if] they carry a shield on the haunch.[†] And they are so great and strong that the *Maesse de Campo*,[‡] for pomp had his coach drawn by two deer of this [kind], which they tamed since [they were] little. And they pulled with such dash that it was necessary to put at the sides [two] very tame mules to hold them back. Of the rest [deer], of medium size, there are very, very many; and on these the Indians sustain and clothe themselves; for of the hides of them they make and tan deerskins so good that they sell them in Mexico [city] at five and six dollars. Of cottontail rabbits and jackrabbits there is no numbering; foxes, wolves, [mountain] lions, wildcats, and bears are also most numerous. There is a genus of mountain sheep, very great and with very bulky horns. And up a wall, though it be high and smooth, they clamber at speed;

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[*] The mule-deer, *Odocoileus hemionus*.

[†] Probably the "white-tailed deer," *Odocoileus americanus macrourus*, or another large deer, *O. texanus* or *crooki*.

[‡] Lit. "Master of the camp." We have no exact equivalent. Probably Adjutant is nearest.— C. F. L.

or up a high cliff, as it were by a ladder. And frisking or in flight they are wont to fling themselves from the highest cliffs downward, falling always head first, and they rise immediately with all nimbleness, as if they had done nothing.* And in all [wild] animals all that kingdom is very abundant; and equally our herds have already propagated much there; [being] taken [thither] from New Spain, for there were none there. As, herds of [horned] cattle, and sheep — and [there] the ewes ordinarily bear three lambs [at a birth]— herds of swine, mules and famous horses, particularly for military use. And it is very well worth seeing when the Indians make a general hunt;† for there come together four or five thousand, and go beating-up [*oxeando* for *ojeando*, starting game] through all the hills they wish, making a surround in such manner that the game runs against people on all sides when it flees. And they go on narrowing the circle in [such] manner that in a brief space they have all the game together, where are seen animals of all sorts. The killers enter within the circle, and those without close in; and all that is killed is divided among all — though they give advantages [i. e., larger shares] to the captains.

RIGOR OF THE TEMPERATURE

The temperature is by extremes; for the winter is very rigorous and of so many snows, frosts [*y elos*, for *yelos*, *hielos*] and cold [snaps] that all the rivers, sloughs, and even the Rio del Norte freeze in [such] manner that [people] pass over them with loaded wagons, and very large

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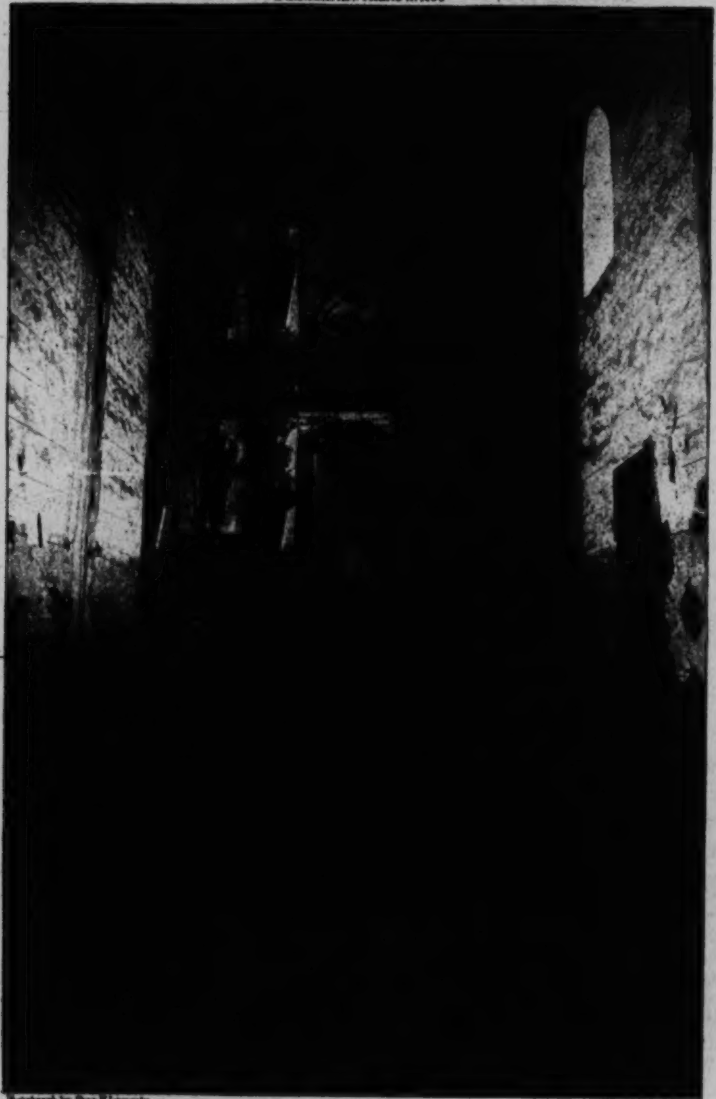
* A good "popular" description of the cimarron, or mountain sheep, *Ovis canadensis texiana*. See John Muir's fine chapter in *The Mountains of California*. Probably the first mention of mountain sheep in the United States was made by Castañeda, of Coronado's expedition, who observed great flocks in 1540.— C. F. L.

† This communal surround-hunt is mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca in his *Naufragios*, about 1539: by Villagran in 1610, etc. For description of it in m[illegible]times see Lummis, *A New Mexico David*, p. 54. In the Zuñi mountains there is a place known to the Zuñi as *Ná-ta-ta-kwin*, "Deer-surround-place."



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PL. XVIII

STONE ALTAR (1760) OF THE PARISH CHURCH, SANTA FE,
FOUNDED BY BENAVIDES. THE REMAINS OF DIEGO DE VARGAS LIE HERE.

bands of cattle at full speed, as if it were over very firm ground. And then we Religious endure very great hardship to cross these rivers to minister to the pueblos; for as the rivers stay frozen, they are on top like polished and slippery crystal, and [people] on horseback and on foot give themselves very great falls. And as the remedy for this is to throw dirt on top, so that the feet may adhere and maintain themselves, we do not find it [the dirt]. For everything is so frozen that to make a grave in the church, a fire is first built on top [of the earth floor] that it may thaw it; and it cannot be opened with small crowbars. And it suffices to say that when we are saying Mass we have two braziers at the sides of the chalice; and with all this, and the warmth of many people that are in the church, the wine freezes for us. And so every winter many Indians are frozen in the country, and many Spaniards have their ears, feet, and hands frozen. And on the contrary, in summer the heat is more intolerable than the cold in winter. And so it sometimes seems that the breath fails altogether — [though this is] in some provinces more than in others.[42]

[THE] HUGE APACHE NATION

With what has been said it will suffice for understanding the nature of the pueblos of New Mexico, which are on the banks of the Rio del Norte, in a stretch of a hundred leagues, on one and the other bank [of the stream]. All of which are surrounded on all sides by the huge Apache nation.[43] And without exaggeration, it alone has more people than all the nations of New Spain [put] together, even including the Mexican [nation].* It is a people very fiery and bellicose, and very crafty in war. Even in the method of speaking they show a difference from the rest of the nations. For these speak rather softly and deliberately, and the Apaches seem [fairly] to break their heads with the word.* They do not dwell in settlements, nor in houses, but in tents and huts, forasmuch as they move from mountain range to range, seeking game, which is their sustenance. However, each hut of a principal or individual has its recognized land on which they plant corn and other seeds. They go clad in *gamuzas*, which are the skins of deer, very well tanned and adorned in their fashion, and the women gallantly and honestly clad. They have no more idolatry than that of the Sun, and even that is not general to all of [them]; and they scoff much at the other nations which have idols. They are wont to have the [as many] wives as they can support; and upon her whom they take in adultery they irremissibly execute their law, which is to cut off her ears and nose; and they repudiate her.† They are very obedient to their elders [*mayores;* also superiors] and hold them in great respect. They teach and chastise their children, [which is a] difference from the other nations, who have no chastisement whatever.‡ They pride themselves much on speaking the truth, and hold for dishonored him whom they catch in a lie. And although, being one nation, it is all [of] one tongue, since it is so extensive there does not fail to be some variation, but no such matter that it cannot be very well understood.

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* An absurd overestimate. The Indian population of New Spain [Mexico] exceeded 50 times that of New Mexico and Arizona. See note 39.

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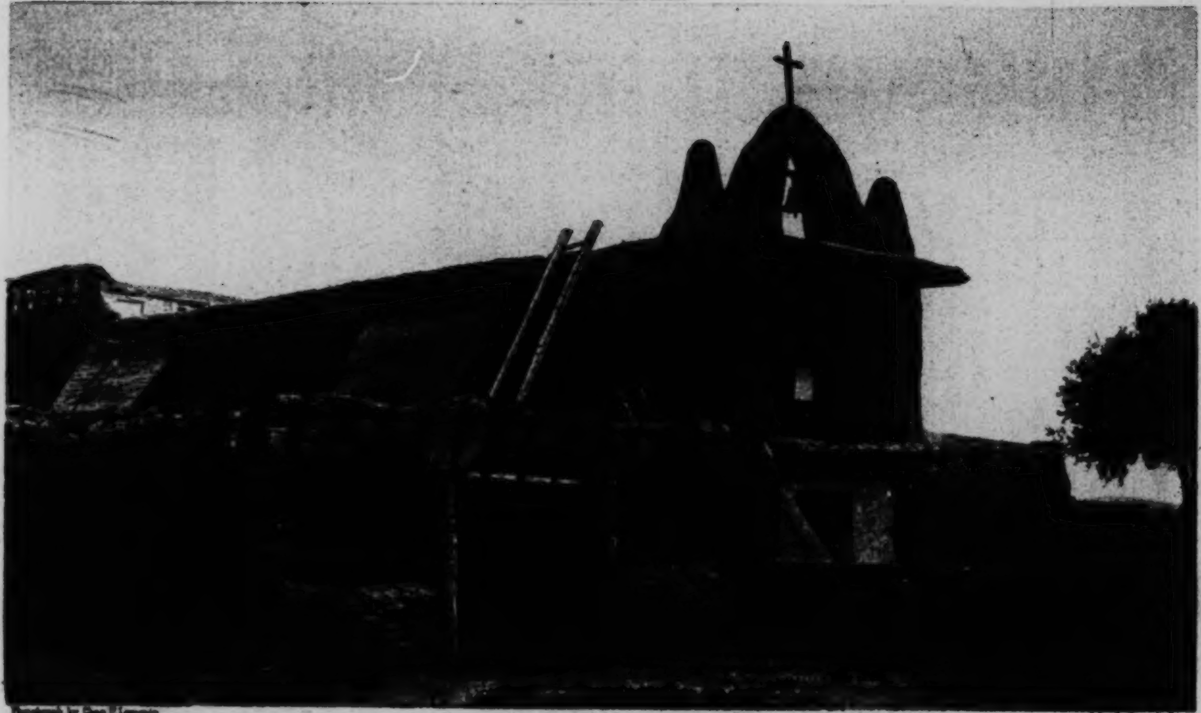
* The Apache of today say the Navaho speak bad Apache; the Navaho say the Apache speak bad Navaho. For the Navaho language consult *Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, compiled and published by the Franciscan Fathers, St. Michaels, Arizona, c. 1910; *A Vocabulary of the Navaho Language*, by the Franciscan Fathers, St. Michaels, c. 1912.

† Every "old-timer" in New Mexico, and especially in Arizona, has seen *chatas*, or noseless Apache women, for the ancient law was in force until recent times.

‡ Mr. Hodge, who lived in Zuñi a year, says: "I never saw Zuñi fathers or mothers punish their children more severely than by scolding; and these children are more obedient, respectful, and well-behaved in general than most white children." I myself have been intimate with the Pueblos for twenty years, am familiar with all their villages, and lived in one for five years. In my experience I saw but one Pueblo child chastised; and he was the only one I ever saw (except grown-up Carlisle graduates) that was impudent to his parents or to any older person.— C. F. L.

[illegible], New Mexico in [illegible]



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PL. XIX.

THE CHURCH AND MONASTERY, SAN ILDEFONSO.

And commencing at the beginning of it — which, as we come to New Mexico, is the Province of the Apaches of the Perrillo, it [the Apache country] runs on this side to the west as far as the South Sea [the Pacific] and in it are more than three hundred leagues; and continues up to the north without our having found the end in that direction, and hits the strait of Anian.* And circling New Mexico with this nation, to the side of the east, it widens more than a hundred leagues, until it returns to strike again the Province of the Perrillo; making in this [circuit] more than three hundred leagues of circumference for New Mexico on its frontiers. It is a nation so bellicose, all of it, that it has been the crucible for the courage of the Spaniards; and for this [reason] they esteem them highly and say that only the Spaniards merit the title of people, and that the nations of settled Indians do not.

BEGINNING OF THE CONVERSION OF THE APACHES

I gave a beginning to the conversion of this Apache nation on the side of the north, in the rancherias of the Captain Quinia,† [who is] well known for being so belligerent; planting in them the first crosses; and a Religious continued it [the conversion].‡ They rebelled after the captain and his wife and his children had been baptized; and they wished to kill the Father who was catechising them. And having their arrows already pointed at him, they did not dare to do it, and fled from the rancheria and left the Father [there] alone. Whereupon he left them for the time being [*aquella vez*]. And they are again being reduced to peacefulness. For this is what always happens in the conversions at the beginning.

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* For this mythical "Northwest Passage" from ocean to ocean, see *The Land of Sunshine*, vol. XI, p. 343, note 32; and pp. 225, 226, 228, paragraphs 163, 172, 193, Los Angeles, 1899.

† Evidently the "Great Captain Quima" mentioned by Fray Gerómino de Zárate Salmerón, about 1629. For the translation see *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Dec., 1899, p. 47.

‡ As has already been seen, two missionaries of the Perea party were assigned, in 1629, to the Apaches under the chiefs Quinia and Manases, namely, P. Fr. Bartholomé Romero and Fr. Francisco Muñoz. The former of these is probably the one to whom Benavides now refers. See note 8.

CONVERSION OF THE APACHES OF XILA, AND NOTABLE HIEROGLYPH OF AN APACHE CAPTAIN

Turning back, then, toward the beginning of this Apache nation, by the [part] nearest [*por lo mas cercano*] to the Province of the Perrillo,* is that [province] of the Apaches of Xila,† fourteen leagues from the pueblo of San Antonio de Senecu, of the Province of the Piros. Our Lord was pleased that its head captain, named Sanaba, should be converted by having heard me preach many times in Senecu, where he ordinarily attended. And he in person preached to those of his rancherias; and thus was converted that [rancheria] in which he lived; and little by little he goes on converting the other [rancherias] which are subject to him; and today we have there a Religious who goes on catechising them and settling them down. I cannot refrain from telling on this occasion two strange cases which befell me in this conversion, wherein Your Majesty will perceive what is going on there. The one was that as I was going to this pueblo of Xila to catechise them, their Captain Sanaba knew of it and came fourteen leagues to the pueblo of San Antonio de Senecu to receive me; and after I had regaled him with what I could, he ordered a servant to unloose a little bundle which he was carrying, and took out from it a doubled-up *gamuza*, which is a tanned deerskin, and presented it to me. And, not knowing what was within, [but] persuaded that he was simply presenting me with that [*gamuza*], I said to him that he already knew that I did not wish that they should give me anything; that what I desired of them was solely that with all their

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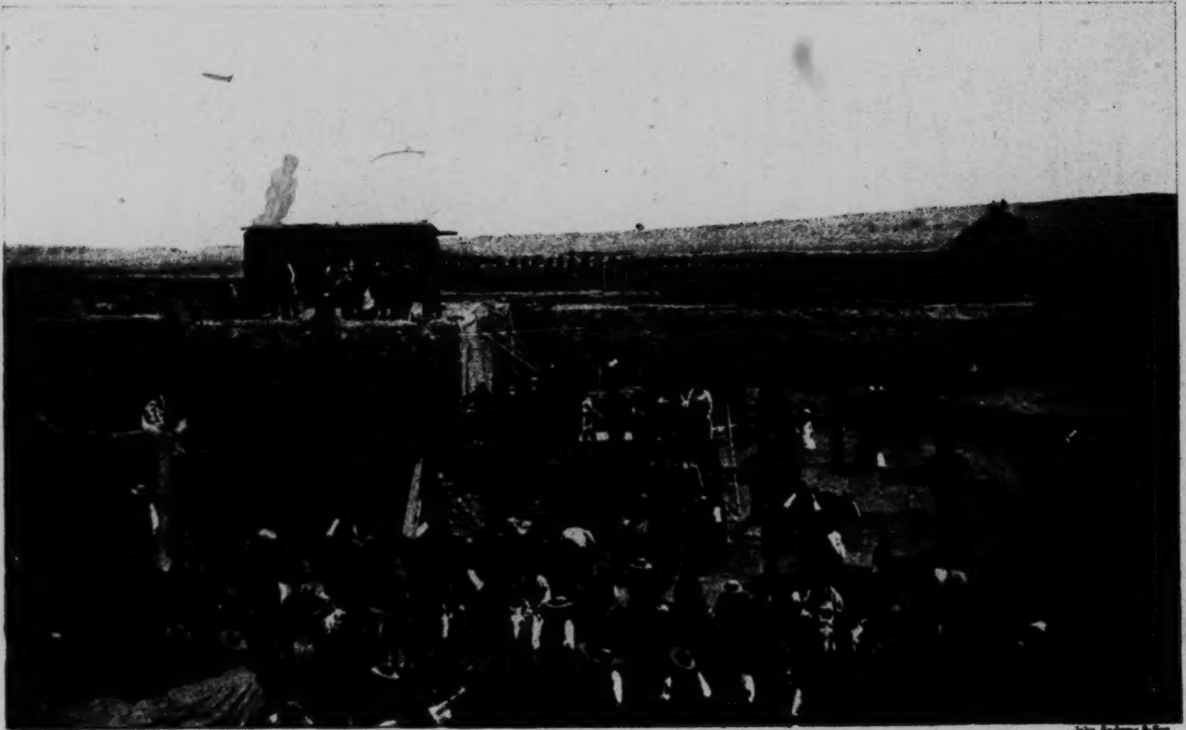
*See note 16.

† Benavides is the first person to use the name which today survives in the Rio "Gila" of Arizona and New Mexico. At the period of our author, Xila was only the name of an Apache settlement in the locality described, i. e., probably about the head of Corduroy cañon in Socorro county, New Mexico.—F. W. H.



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PL. XX

THE CHURCH AT SANTA CLARA, ON A FEAST DAY.

heart they should adore the Lord of Heaven and Earth. And smiling, he said to me, That I should undouble the deerskin and see what it contained within. I did so, and saw in it that it was very white and large; and painted in the middle of it [was] a sun of green color, with a cross on top; and below the sun [was] painted the moon in gray color with another cross on top. And although something of what it meant to tell me flashed across me, I asked him what that painting signified. He said thus: "Padre, until now we had not recognized any other benefactor so great as the sun and the moon; for the sun warms us and gives light by day and nourishes the plants for us; and the moon gives us light by night. And so we used to adore these two, as them that did us so much good, and we knew not that there was any other thing better; but now that thou has taught us that God is the Lord, and Creator of the sun and of the moon and of all things, and that the Cross is a token of God, I ordered [them] to paint the Cross over the sun and over the moon, that thou shouldst understand that we do that which thou teachest us; and not forget that above everything we adore God and His holy Cross." Blessed be God, and praised for all! Only he who has attempted conversion knows the spiritual joy that a Religious experiences when in such-like occasions he sees the fruit of his labors gained; and he reckons [*da*] for well employed the risks he has passed through in the conversion.[44] And exactly so, one will very well recognize the natural talent of so much reflection which God hath given to this nation; since I know not what better reasons the ancient natural philosophers could have given than [did] this Indian, a barbarian in our opinion, to persuade himself to the adoration of our true and universal Creator, Redeemer, and Lord.

CONVERSION OF THE NAVAJÓ APACHES

Sallying, then, from this Province of the Apaches of

Xila, and passing forward in the same direction, which is to the side of the west from the settlements, coasting along these to the northward more than fifty leagues — [which are] full of rancherias of the jurisdiction of Xila — one encounters the Province of the Apaches of Navajò.*[48] Although they are of the same Apache nation as the foregoing, they are subject and subordinate to another chief captain, and have a distinct mode of living. For those of back [yonder] did not use to plant, but sustained themselves by the chase; and today we have broken land for them and taught them to plant. But these of Navajò are very great farmers [*labradores*], for that [is what] "Navajò" signifies —"great planted fields" [*sementeras grandes*]. This province is the most bellicose of all the Apache nation, and [is] where the Spaniards have well shown their valor. This cordillera runs another fifty or sixty leagues, the which are full of deposits [*minerales*] of rock alum [*piedra lumbre*, for *alumbre*]. And as all these town-dwelling [*pobladas*] and Christian nations are inclined to dyeing, to have wherewith to dye [*pintar*, lit. "paint"] their clothing, they need alum,[49] which exists only in those ranges. And to go after it two or three thousand Indians unite; and to meet these in war, the said Navajò Apaches sally in defense of their territory; and over the affair there are very, very many deaths. Unless it chances [is] that they arrive in a time when the Apaches have withdrawn to other ranges to hunt; and after, when they know that these have come to take away their alum from them, they unite very purposefully [*muy de proposito*] and come to make war on the Christian [Indians] in revenge for their having entered upon their lands. And the people is so numerous that in two days there come together more than thirty thousand Indians,†

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* Thus the Pueblos pronounce it; and the Navaho themselves, when they use this "foreign" word at all.

† This estimate is grossly exaggerated. It is doubtful if the Navaho numbered as many as 4,000 in the first half of the seventeenth century. See note 39.

Photograph by A.C.Vroman.

John Andrew & Son.

PL. XXI

THE PUEBLO OF TESUQUE.

Photograph by A.C.Vroman.

John Andrew & Son.

PL. XXII

THE PUEBLO OF NAMBÉ.

[armed] with bow and arrow. And this is very little exaggeration; for sundry times that the Spaniards have gone there to fight, to chastise them for the many Christian Indians they kill, although they assaulted them at daybreak and caught them off their guard, they always found the fields curdled [*quaxados*, for *cuajados*] with people beyond number. They have their sort of lodgings under the ground, and a certain sort of *xacales* * in which to store their crops, and they always dwell in that spot.[46] And now, in the month of September of the past year of [1]629, it pleased our Lord that I should pacify them.† For which purpose I founded a monastery and church in the pueblo of Santa Clara, of the nation of the Teoas [Tewa], Christians, who were dwellers on the frontier and received many damages from these Apaches. And I desired much to make peace between them, for thence would result their conversion — as [indeed] it did result. And because the happening of it was peculiar, and perhaps it will be to Your Majesty's taste to know the method in which it was done, it was thus:

In the month of September, of the past year of 1629, I [was] ministering provisionally in the monastery of Santa Clara aforesaid, in the pueblo called Capoo,[47] which was the last and tenth that, to the honor and glory of God our Lord, I founded in those conversions. Thither more than usual [elsewhere] these Navajò Apaches repaired to do havoc. And having seen that I could not catch a one [of them] — to regale him and send him again to his land to tell his captains that we [wished] to treat for peace — I adventured and determined to send to them twelve Indians of my Christians, men of talent, and spirited. For the which I called the captains and old men of the pueblo, and communicated to them the desire I had that this peace should be made; as well to stop so many deaths, as that they might treat and have reciprocity in their agriculture [*comunicassen en sus grangerias*]; and the principal [thing] that we might by this road attain their conversion, which was my principal end. All were of this mind; and naming one of the twelve for captain, because he was an Indian of more talent, they gave him the embassy of peace according to their usage. This was an arrow with a feather of colors in place of the flint, and a reed full of tobacco[*] [already] begun to be smoked; with another feather, which showed on it that which they [my Indians] had smoked. For the arrow was in order that, arriving in sight of the rancheria and coming nigh, he should shoot that tame arrow in signal of peace; and the reed [was] that he should invite them [the Navaho] to smoke, and that he should push [*corriesse*, run] this word and peace [message] into the interior. I likewise gave him my [own] word of peace, which was a rosary for the captain; and [tell him] that I was desiring to see him, to treat with him [concerning] this peace. And in order that this should have the good effect which it did have, it chanced to be on the evening before the Stigmata of our Father St. Francis[48]—

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* The author here refers to the typical Navaho house, or *hogán* (the *g* is aspirated). The term *xacal*, or *jacal*, from the Aztec *xacalli*, is used to designate a structure of wattle chinked or plastered with mud. For a description of the dwellings of the Navaho, see C. Mindeleff, Navaho Houses, *Seventeenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, pt. 2, pp. 469–517, 1898.

† This proves conclusively that Benavides did not leave New Mexico until some time after the arrival (Easter, 1629) of Perea, his successor in the custodianship, and it corroborates his general statement, at the outset, that he "has traveled these 2600 leagues [from New Mexico to Spain] in this year of 1630." —F. W. H.

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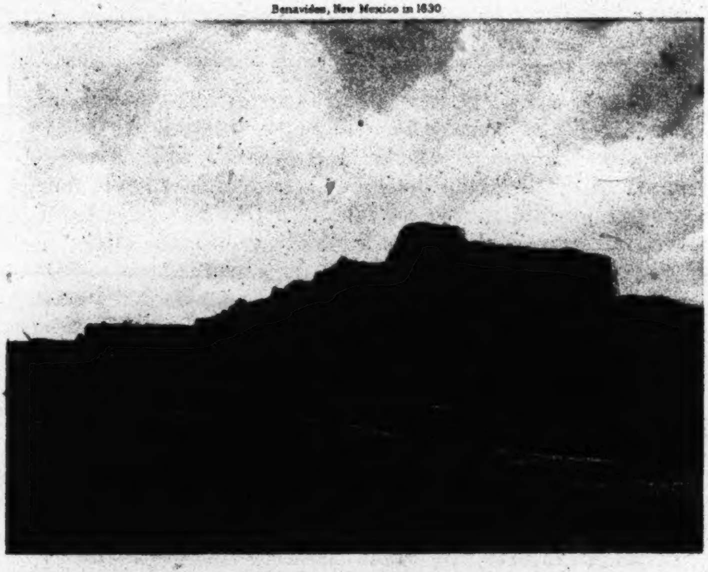
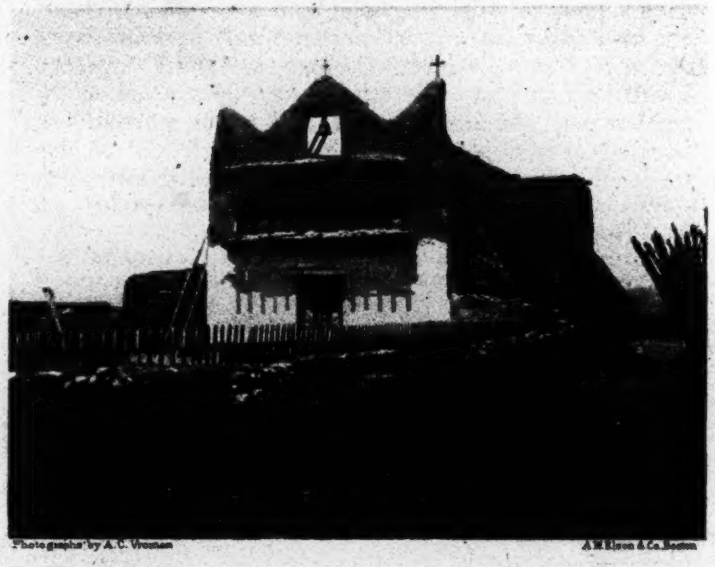
[*] The familiar "pipe of peace." The prehistoric New Mexico Indians, however, did not have pipes, nor yet a real tobacco: their "sacred smoke" was a ceremonial cigarette, made by ramming a reed full of an herb called [in Tigua] *pi-én-hle*. This ceremonial cigarette is called *hwir*. It is still used in innumerable Pueblo ceremonies: as an offering to the cacique, as a fee to the Fathers of Medicine, as a test for the neophyte being initiated into an order, etc. As in prehistoric days with the prehistoric "smoke," any cigarette is to this day a proffer of peace when two strange Indians meet. Now, however, it is generally a cigarette of straw paper and trade tobacco, and is not first lighted and puffed by the man who proffers it, as the ancient *hwir* used to be. See Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*, New York, 1911, chap. XVIII, "The Praying Smoke."—C. F. L.



The Church at Zuñi



Photographs by A. C. Vroman

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Pl. XXIII

The Church at Nambé

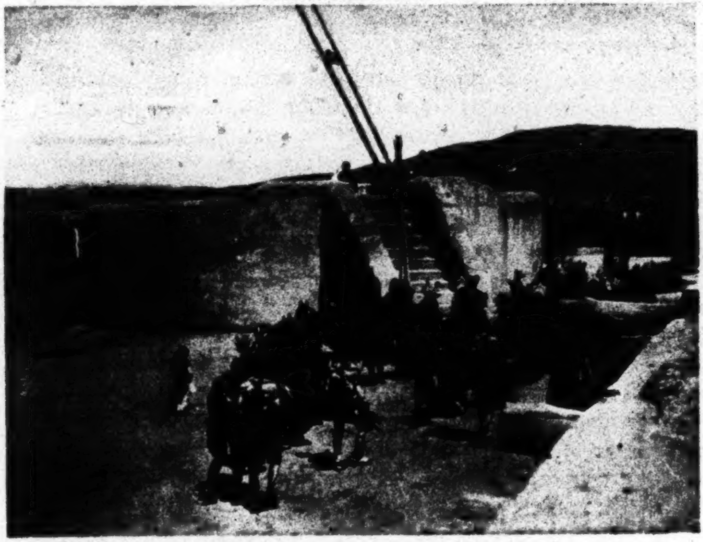
which is on the 17th of September — of the past year of [1]629. And so I told them that they should come to hear Mass on the next day [i. e., September 17], whither all the people gathered, petitioning God for a good result, and [petitioning] our Father St. Francis that he be patron of it — and so I forthwith dedicated to him that conversion and province. The Mass having been heard, then — which was sung with all solemnity — these Indians went forth with very great courage and spirit; and having besought of me the benediction, they began their journey from the very church. God knoweth the constriction in which my heart was, seeing the so manifest risk in which I was putting those Indians. For when one comes out badly from an enterprise, there are never lacking rivals to judge that it was rash; and if it turns out well, few extol it. But always I had very entire faith in God our Lord, that He would [*auia de*, lit. "had to"] guard them from their enemies.

Having arrived, then, in sight of the first rancheria, the frontier of that untamed and ferocious nation, where was the chief captain of all those frontiers — and the most valiant [*esforçado*], a cousin of the cacique, who governed all of them, who came there alone to raise recruits [*hazer gente*] to do the Christians a notable harm — they fired the arrow which they were carrying [and] making signals with. Which being seen by the enemy, he answered them with another [arrow] of the same sort. Whereupon they went drawing nearer, although slowly and with mistrust. Having arrived, our captain gave him his message [*embaxada*], and invited him with the reed of tobacco; and thus also [the Navaho] received my rosary. And [our man] delivered his message on behalf of his captains and on my [behalf]. And as [the Navaho] had never seen a rosary, he asked what it signified that that thread had so many beads [*granos*, grains]. Our ambassador answered him, ex tempore [*inopinadamente*, not having had time to think], yet with subtlety, that as they [the

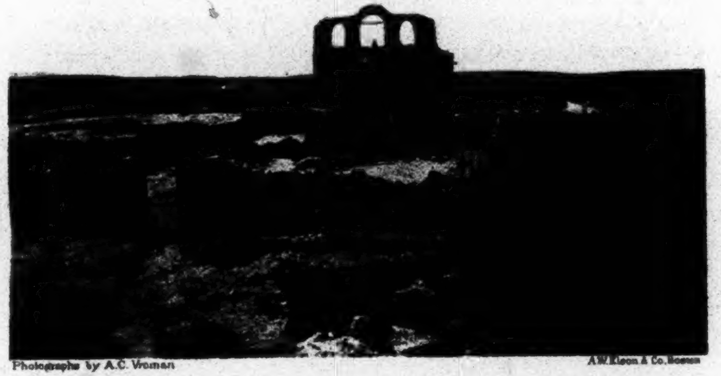
Navaho] were many captains, the Father was sending there to each one of them his word that he would be his friend — a response which much satisfied him [the Navaho]. To the which the [Navaho] captain answered, giving a very great sigh: "That it weighed heavy on him that they had come to offer him peace; that, since it was so good a thing, and it was brought to his house, he could not forbear to receive it; but that he was very [much] offended with the Christians, and that on this occasion he had matters arranged in [such] manner that he must have revenged himself very well; but that he received the peace, and wished it." And so he sent the arrow forthwith to his cacique, and the reed of tobacco; and he remained with my rosary on [his] neck. And suspicious that this might have some double-dealing, he said to our men, "That, though *he* gave peace in the name of all, he wished to know from me and from all the Christian captains personally, if it was true that we gave it; and that therefore he wished to come and see us in our pueblo."

I was advised of it by one of [our] men who came post-haste and I caused that more than one thousand five hundred souls* should go forth to receive him. I awaited him in the church, the which I ordered them to fix up well, and to light many lights, for it was already night when they arrived. And because this nation is haughty and mettlesome, it appeared to me [best] to receive this captain, and those that came with him, in a different wise from [that in which we receive] the other nations. For with them we sit down on the floor [or, ground, *suelo*] at the beginning, conforming with their rude fashion, until we teach them more politeness. The Apache nation being, then, so haughty, it appeared to me [best] to change [this]

* Benavides must have drawn on some of the other pueblos, for the population of Santa Clara at this time was probably not greater than just before the revolt of 1680, when it numbered only 300 persons. At the latter date, by the way, this pueblo had no resident missionary, it being ministered by the padre at San Ildefonso. See note 39.—F. W. H.



An "Estufa of Idolatry"



Photographs by A.C. Vroman

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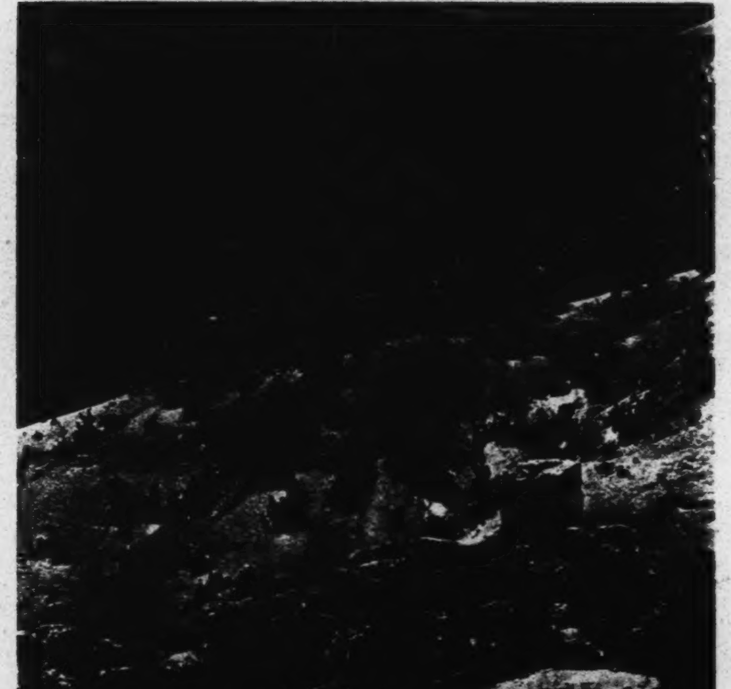
Pl. XXIV

The Church at Pojoaque

style; and so, next the altar I ordered a chair set upon a rug; and seated in this, I received him. He came before all the pueblo; and between the Christian captains came this Apache captain, and four other captains of his [people]. Having entered into the church and made a prayer at the altar, the chief captain of the Christians came to me and kissed my feet — a thing which I did not much oppose, nor indeed was I prepared for it. And at his example and [in] imitation, the strangers did their part [i.e., the same, *lo propio*]. And after having saluted me, the chief [captain] said that those [our] captains had gone to offer him peace on my behalf and [on that] of their captains; and that he came to know [about] it personally, for greater security. Promptly the chief captain of the pueblo rose and offered his own bow and arrows to the Apache, saying that there before God, who was on that altar, and before me, who was His priest, he gave him those weapons, in earnest of his word that he never would break the peace; and thus he laid them [the weapons] on the altar. And that he might perceive that all said the same, he said to the pueblo, "Do all consent to it?" And giving a great shout they answered, "Yes!" Promptly the Apache captain chose from his quiver an arrow, to his thinking the most suitable [with a head] of white flint, and good [and] sharp; and before all said this in a loud voice: "I do not know who is that one that ye call God; but since ye put him for witness and stability of your word, in pledge that infallibly ye must not break it, he ought to be some person of great power and authority, and a good [person]. And so to that God, whosoever he may be, I likewise give my word and faith, in the name of all my people, with this arrow in the hands of this Father; and that for my part and that of my [people] the peace and friendship shall never fail." And receiving from him the arrow, I said to him: "That if he wished that I should tell him who God was, he would enjoy hearing me, and much more for having given Him his word." And as he said "Yes," I declared to him with the briefest words, in his fashion [*modo;* doubtless means here "in his tongue"], who God was — Creator and Lord of all that is created, and that to deliver us from eternal pains He had died upon a Cross — showing it all to him by a painting at the altar — and that he who should not adore Him, and be baptized, must be damned and go to burn in those eternal pains. And as the word of God is so efficacious, it wrought so in his heart that with a vast ardor and sigh he turned to all the pueblo and in a very loud voice said to them: "Ah, Teoas [Tewa], and what envy I have for you that ye have here [one] who teaches you who God is, and things so good — and not us, who live and die traveling through these wilds and mountain-ranges, like deer and jackrabbits. From this moment I say that I adore this God whom this Father tells of; and now that I know Him, I give peace, and my word to keep it, with the greater force," and with tears from his eyes he knelt to kiss my feet. At the which, I lifted him up and embraced [him] with all the kindliness I could. And immediately all the Christian captains went to embracing him, and at this opportune time I had them peal the bells [*repicar,* the rapid ringing] and sound the trumpets and clarions — a thing which pleased him much to hear, since it was the first time. And at once I hung those arrows there upon the altar, as trophies of the divine word, although by a minister so humble as I; and as such I made it manifest to the pueblo, in order that for all they might give thanks to the Divine Majesty. Whereupon the Christian captains carried off the guests to entertain them in their houses, and I regaled them with what I could.

On the next day, in the morning, as it was Saturday, when the [bells] pealed for the Mass of Our Lady, at which all the pueblo was present, this Apache captain came also with the rest of the Christians and with his [companions]. And having learned that I was named



Photograph by Hillers

A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

Pl. XIV

RUINS OF THE JEMEZ CHURCH OF SAN DIEGO AT GYUSIWÁ.

Alonso, he said that I should give him permission to be named so. I told him that so he should be named when he should be baptized — although from that moment they all called him Don Alonso. I robed myself to begin the Mass with the best vestments there were, and he was marveling to see the devotion with which all the people were upon [their] knees praying. Before beginning the Mass, I married some Indians; and as they [the Navaho] have wives as [many as] they can support, it seemed to him very good that the Christians had no more than one [wife], and that they promised to remain faithful before God. Then as I wished to begin the Mass, and he was not yet baptized, I told him that until he should be so [baptized] he could not see God in the Mass, and that he should go out to walk with his [companions] while I was saying it. To the which he replied: "That he already took himself for a Christian, and adored God more than all whatsoever were there, with all his heart; and that thus he also wished to see Him." And when I replied that he could not until he had been baptized, he ordered his companions that they should go out, but [said] that he must in no wise whatever go out. I, to divert him, ordered the singers that they should sing the Salve [Regina] in an organchant with all solemnity, and with trumpets and clarions. And so, in my robes at the altar I sang the collect; and having finished it I sat down in the chair and came back to telling him some words concerning the mystery of the Creation and Redemption, wherewith he remained each time more confirmed in the Faith.

Several Spanish soldiers had come together to hear Mass; and he [the Navaho] said that the same peace which he had affirmed with the Teoas, he wished also to establish with the Spaniards. And so to a Spanish captain who was there he gave an arrow by my hand, in token of [his] word that he would not fail [to keep] the peace. And our Spaniard, drawing his sword from the sheath, gave it likewise to me, before the Indian as an earnest that he gave him peace in the name of God and received his [peace]. And all, as before, was put upon the altar, offering it to God as judge and witness of that action. Which likewise was celebrated, a second time, with bells, trumpets, and clarions. With the which he [the Navaho] remained very consoled, saying: "That well he perceived the truth of our Holy Catholic Faith, since it was celebrated with so much solemnity; and that they [his people] lived like brute animals of the wilds." And with this, I sent him with some Christian captains to their house, and said the Mass to the pueblo — whereat he afterward became very vexed, because he wished to have seen God in the Mass.

He was there, and his [companions], three or four days, hearing with devotion and love the things of our Holy Catholic Faith, attentive and noting the contentment in which the Christians were living. And in particular there had fixed itself very [deeply] in their soul the fear of the pains of hell, and that in any event they wished to be Christians; and that they much loved their wives and children, and them of their nation, and that it would afflict them much that they should go to hell for not being Christians. For the which they besought me much, that I would go to their rancherias, if only for ten days, to tell their [people] that which they had heard me [say] there — for they were things so marvelous that neither could he manage to tell them, nor would his [people] believe them for his telling them. At last he left, to return in a moon and a half (for they count by moons). And to confirm this peace, he wished to bring all the women and small children of those neighboring rancherias, with many dressed deerskins and rock alum [*piedra alumbre*],* to make a big fair, which should last three days, and they would contract great friendship. And from that moment he assured them that they might enter his territory to hunt, and for what they might wish; [and]

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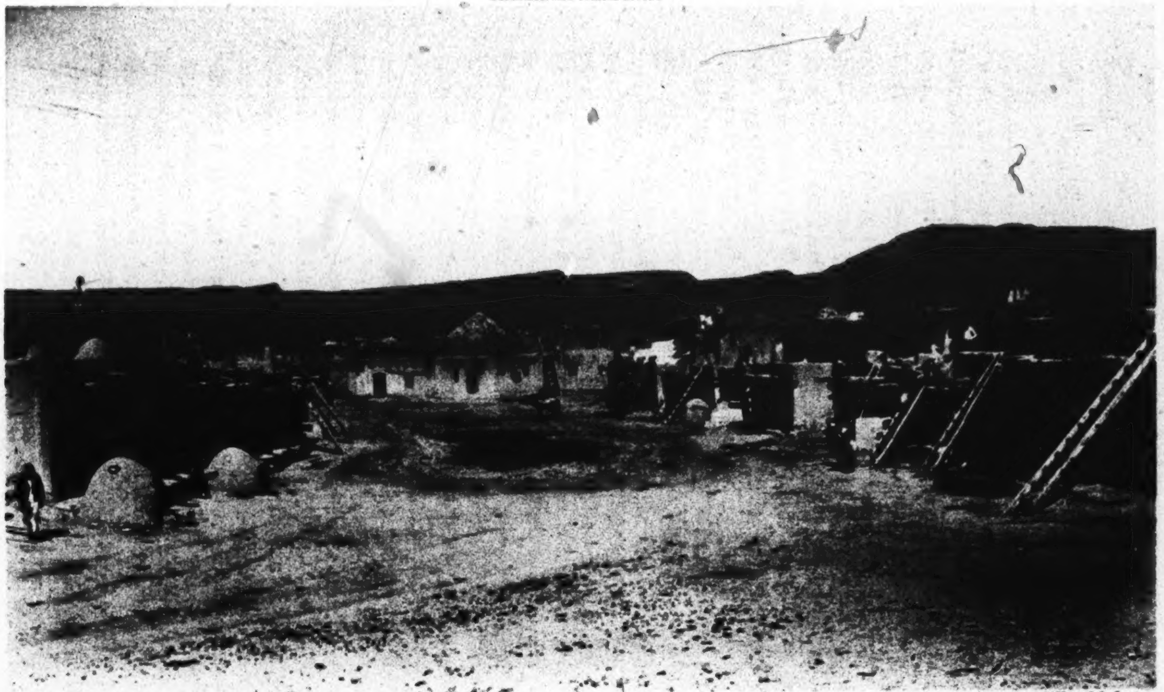
* See note 46.



Photograph by A.C. Vroman

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Pl. XXVI

PUEBLO OF JEMES

that they should be treated as very [good] friends. And so it was. For before this, at a quarter of a league [from the pueblo] one passed in that direction with much risk, and each day they used to kill Christians; and after this peace, even the old women used to go forth for wood in that quarter; and if they encountered Apaches these gave them a very safe passage and shared with them the game that they had taken. A Religious of very great spirit is pursuing this conversion and pacification, who will do it with many more advantages than I [had]. This province must be, along the frontier, more than 50 leagues; but it stretches to the west more than 300, and we do not know where it ends. And this province is the [one] which has given most pain and anxiety to New Mexico, as well from [its Indians] being so warlike and valiant, as because there are in it more than two hundred thousand * souls, [judging] by the times when the Spaniards have seen them going to fight.

COWBOY APACHES OF THE BUFFALO-HERD

Having passed then, this Province of the Apaches of Navajò, turning now on the right hand to the east, there begins the Province of the Vaquero [cowboy] Apaches; the which runs in that direction and returns encompassing the settlements, more than 150 leagues, until it reaches those [settlements] of the Perrillo,† where we begin at entering into New Mexico. All this nation and province sustains itself on cows [*vacas*] which they call [cows] of Sibola.‡ [They are] like ours [masculine; *sc. ganado*, cattle] in greatness, but very different in the form, because it is very short in [the] legs, as if hipped and very high in hump and chest, [with] horns very small and sharp, straight upward; very great manes on the forelock which obstructs their vision, and very curly, and the same on the chins and on the knees. And all [are] of a dark-brown color, or black, and [it is] a marvel [when] one is seen with any white spot. Their meat is more savory and healthful than that of our cows, and the tallow much better. They do not bellow like our bulls, but grunt like hogs. They are not long-tailed, but [the tail is] small and with little wool on it. The hair is not like that of our cattle, but curly like very fine fleece. Of it are made very good rugs, and of the new ones [*las nueuas*, probably the new hair], very fine hats [are made], of vicuña, to [all] appearance. Of the skins of the heifers, clothing is lined, as if they were [skins] of martens. I have told so at length of these cattle, because they are in such great number, and so widespread that we have not found [the] end of them. And we have information that they run from the Sea of the South [the Pacific] to the Sea of the North [the Atlantic], and so many that they gorge the fields. These cattle alone were enough to make a prince very powerful, if there could be, or might offer, a plan whereby they might be brought out to other lands. Troops there are of more than forty thousand bulls to [all] appearances; without there being among them one single cow; because they always go separate until rutting time. They are not cattle that let themselves be rounded-up [*coger en rodeos*],* though as a means they take among them [some] of our tame cattle. And so, at the time of calving, the Spaniards go to catch the little heifers and bring them up with she-goats. As these cattle are so many, and shed or change their hair [*pelleja*, for *pelecha*] every year, that wool remains in the fields, and the airs keep drifting it up to trees, or into sundry ravines, and in such quantity that it could make many rich — and it all is lost.[60]

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* Had Benavides given one fiftieth of this number, he would have been approximately right. See note 39.

† See note 16.

‡ Vacas (or ganado) de Cibola, i.e. buffalo. See note 49.

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* *Rodeo* is the technical Spanish word for "round-up"—still used among Southwestern cattlemen. Probably Benavides was right in his time. After they acquired horses, the Plains Indians often rounded-up bands of buffalo, which huddled together until dispatched. Such a round-up is the subject of one of Catlin's paintings—though this fact is quoted not as proof, but incidentally. — C. F. L.

CHURCH AND ESTUFA AT PICURÍS

Photographs by A.C. Vroman

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

PL. XXIII

ZUÑI AND ITS GARDENS

By these cattle, then, all these Vaquero Apaches sustain themselves; for the which they go craftily to their watering-places, and hide themselves in the trails, painted with red-lead * and stained with the mud of that same earth; and stretched in the deep trails which the cattle have made, when the [cattle] pass they employ the arrows which they carry. And as [these] are dull [*triste*] cattle, though very savage and swift, when they feel themselves wounded they let themselves fall after a few paces. And afterward the [Indians] skin them and carry off the hide, the tongues, and tenderloins, and the sinews to sew [with] and to make strings for their bows. The hides they tan in two ways; some leave the hair on them, and they remain like a plush velvet, and serve as bed and as cloak in the summer.† Others they tan without the hair, and thin them down, of which they make their tents and other things after their usage. And with these hides they trade through all the land and gain their living. And it is the general dress as well among Indians as Spaniards, who use it as well for dress as for service as bags, tents, cuirasses, shoes [*calçado*], and everything that is needed. And although each year so many cattle are killed, they not only do not diminish but are each day more, for they gorge the plains and appear interminable. These Indians, then, go forth through the neighboring provinces to trade and traffic with these hides. At which point I cannot refrain from telling one thing, somewhat incredible, howsoever ridiculous. And it is that when these Indians go to trade and traffic, the entire rancherias go, with their wives and children, who live in tents made of these skins of buffalo [*sibola*], very thin and tanned; and the tents they carry loaded on pack-trains [*requas*] of dogs, harnessed up with their little pack-saddles; and the dogs are medium sized. And they are accustomed to take five hundred dogs in one pack-train, one in front of the other; and the people carry their merchandise [thus] loaded, which they barter for cotton cloth * and for other things which they lack.[51]

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* Probably disintegrated hematite, or red ochre.—F. W. H.

† Almost beyond question, there is a misprint in the punctuation here. The period should come after "cloak," both for climatic and ethnologic sense. The Indians did not need the "plush-velvet" robes for "cloaks in summer." As a matter of fact, the winter robes, with their heavy fur, were tanned with the hair on; the summer hides, thin after shedding, were scraped. And so probably Benavides meant to say—"In summer, they tan others without the hair." —C. F. L.

This Province of the Vaquero Apaches hems (as has been said) the settlements of New Mexico along its frontier [for] more than 150 leagues, on the side of the east, and extends in the same direction more than a hundred. All of it [is] most thickly settled with rancherias of the tents aforesaid, and infinite people. Our Lord hath been pleased that their conversion and pacification should be commenced, by the good treatment [or, conduct, *buen trato*] and kindness which the Religious practice [toward] them in the curacies round about. And their chief captains having heard say that the Spaniards in the town [*villa*] of Santa Fé had the Mother of God — which was an image in sculpture of the Translation of the Virgin Our Lady, which I had carried there, and it was well adorned in a chapel — they came to see her, and became very devoted to her, and promised her to be Christians. And in particular the chief of them addressed her with much devotion, in his tongue. Therefore the Demon, seeing that by this road he was being deprived of the empire which he enjoyed, made use of a fraud of the [sort] that he is wont [to use] in his own defense, taking as a means the cupidity of our Spanish Governor.[52] Who to make slaves, to send to sell in New Spain, sent a valiant Indian captain, an enemy of

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* Cotton was cultivated in abundance and spun and woven into excellent fabrics by the Hopi or Moqui before the Spaniards first came in the sixteenth century. These Indians are still recognized as the most expert cotton weavers among all the Pueblos, and quantities of their textile products, particularly dance paraphernalia and women's *mantas*, are bartered among other tribes. See also page 23.—F. W. H.

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John Andrew & Son.

Pl. XXVIII

Pueblo of Taos - the North House, across the Churchyard.

that party, and he was to bring him [as many] pieces [*pieças;* of coin] as he should be able. This infernal minister happened to go to the rancheria of the chief captain who had given his word to the Virgin to be a Christian, with all his [people]. And fought with him, and slew him and much people — for he [the slave-hunter] carried many Indian warriors with him. And as that captain [who was] slain had at his neck a rosary which I had given him, he put it forward, begging him by it and by that Mother of God that he would not kill him. And it did not suffice to [make] the tyrant relinquish exercising his cruelty. And he brought some captives to the Governor, who, though he did not wish to receive them, for the uproar which the deed caused, and wished to hang him whom he [himself] had sent, his cupidity was well recognized. The which caused all this Province to rise in rebellion, although (God be blessed) we are reclaiming it anew, and the Indians already know who is at fault, and that God ought to be adored above everything.

With the aforesaid, it appears to me this Apache nation will be comprehended. The which (as has been said) hems the hundred leagues which the settlements of New Mexico inhabit along the banks of the Rio del Norte; which are [the "nations" of the] Teoas, Tanos, Hemes, Tioas, Piros, Tompiras, and Queres. And on the outer border, to the east and west and to the north and to the south, it [the Apache "nation"] spreads out in places so much that we have not found an end to it. The climate is like that which we have reported of our Christian settlements — cold to an extreme in the winter, and hot to an extreme in the summer.[42] [All] possible diligence is being made for their [the Apaches'] conversion. God knoweth when their [or His, *su*] hour shall arrive.

MIRACULOUS CONVERSION OF THE XUMANA NATION

Leaving, then, all this western part, and going forth from the town [*villa*] of Santa Fé, [the] center of New Mexico, which is in 37 degrees [north latitude], traversing the Apache nation of the Vaqueros for more than a hundred and twelve leagues to the east, [one] comes to hit upon the Xumana nation;[43] which since its conversion was so miraculous, it is just to tell how it was. Years back, when a religious named Fray Iuan [Juan] de Salas[44] was traveling, occupied in the conversion of the Tompiras and Salineros Indians,—where are the greatest salt-ponds [or, salines] in the world, which on that side border upon these Xumanas — there was war between them. And when the Father Fray Iuan de Salas went back for the Salineros, the Xumanas said that people who went back for the poor were good [people]; and so they became fond of the Father, and begged him that he would go to live among them. And each year they came to seek him. And as he was likewise occupied with the Christians on account of being an interpreter and a very good minister, and not having enough Religious, I kept putting off the Xumanas, who were asking for him, until God should send more laborers. As He sent them in the past year of [16]29; inspiring Your Majesty to order the Viceroy of New Spain that he send us thirty Religious. Whom the F[ather]. F[ray]. Estevan de Perea, who was their Custodian, brought. And so we immediately dispatched the said Father [Salas], with another, [his] companion, who is the F[ather]. F[ray]. Diego Lopez; whom the selfsame Indians went with as guides. And before they went, [we] asked the Indians to tell us the reason why they were with so much concern petitioning us for baptism, and for Religious to go to indoctrinate them. They replied that a woman like *that* one whom we had there painted — which was a picture of the Mother Luisa de Carrion — used to preach to each one of them in their [own] tongue, [telling] them that they should come to summon the Fathers to instruct and baptize them, and that they should not be slothful [about it]. And that the woman who preached to them was dressed

Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

John Andrew & Son.

Pl. XXIX

THE PEÑOL OF ACOMA, FROM THE WEST.

precisely like her who was painted there; but that the face was not like that one, but that she [their visitant] was young and beautiful. And always whenever Indians came newly from those nations, looking upon the picture and comparing it among themselves, they said that the clothing was the same but the face [was] not, because the [face] of the woman who preached to them was [that] of a young and beautiful girl.[66]

The Demon, enemy of souls, seeing that those Religious were going to deliver from his claws the [souls] which he there had possession of, wished to defend himself, and made use of a stratagem of the [sort] that he is accustomed to. And it was, that he dried up the lagoons of water that they drank; on account of which also fled the much herd of buffalo [*mucho ganado de Sibola*] which was there, by which all these nations sustain themselves. And directly, by the medium of the Indian sorcerers, he broadcast the word that they should change their location to seek [their] food; and that now the Religious whom they were sending to summon would not come; since in six years that they had waited for them they did not go; and this time they were already delaying so much that they had not to expect them. And so the captains ordered that they should strike their tents to go the next day at dawn. And at the break of day the Saint [feminine] spoke to each one of them individually, and told them that they should not go; for already the Religious whom they were sending to seek were drawing near. And all of them having discussed it among themselves, they sent twelve captains in whom they most confided, to see if it were so. And on the third day they ran upon the Religious, whom they asked to show them the picture of the woman that used to preach to them. And when the Father showed him [*mostrandole* — to their leader, presumably] a [picture] of the Mother Luisa de Carrion, they said that she [their visitant] was dressed like that one, but that she was more handsome and young. And immediately they went to give news to their [people] of the coming of the padres. And came out to meet them in procession, with two Crosses in front, as [they were] so well instructed by heaven. When the said padres, and three soldiers that went with them, had adored the which [crosses], the padres also took out their two Crucifixes, which they wore at the neck; and all came to kiss it [the crucifix] and to venerate it, as if they were very old Christians. And the same they did to a very pretty Infant Jesus that they [the Padres] carried, putting their mouth and eyes to His feet with much devotion. At which all our [people] were left marveling much. Then, more than ten thousand souls having come together in that field to hear the word of the Lord, the Padre Salas asked them if with all their heart they asked for baptism. To the which the captains responded, that only for that they had sent to summon him, and for that they had come together. The Padre said to them, that, although it is true that the captains are supposed [to stand] for all, he would like to hear it from the mouth of each one. And now that that could not be, because the people were so many, that the word should be passed, and that he who might wish to be a Christian should lift his arm, in the place where he was, and he would know from there who wished to be one. A marvelous thing! For with one great cry all uplifted their arms, rising to their feet, asking for the holy Baptism. And that which most hath moved us to compassion is that the mothers who had in their arms their tiny children at the breast, seeing them incapable of performing this action, took them by their little arms and held them upward, begging aloud for them the holy Baptism. It is the power of the divine word, which worketh with so much efficacy.

These Religious were there some few days, preaching the divine word and teaching [them] to pray. To which they flocked with so much punctuality that they failed not morning or [y] evening. And in those days came

Photograph by [illegible] John Andrew & Son.

PL. XXX

THE PEÑOL OF ACOMA.
(ENCHANTED MESA IN THE DISTANCE)

messengers from the rest of the neighboring nations to summon them [the Padres] to go and teach them likewise; since there likewise went that Saint [feminine], preaching to them. And as it seemed to the Padres that that harvest was much and the laborers few, and the people disposed to settle down [*poblar*] and make their churches, they [the Padres] returned to where we [the superiors of the Order] were, to take the assistants [*aderentes*, lit. followers] therefor. And before leaving, they brought together all the Indians, to bid them farewell. And taking the[ir] hand, the Padre Salas — as commissary of the journey, as he was — told them that in the interim until he should come, they should flock every day, as they were wont, to pray to a Cross which they had set up there upon a pedestal. And that in all the necessities which might befall them, they should flock with faith to that holy Cross, for it would relieve them therein. To the which the chief captain answered these words: "Padre, we can not yet do anything with God, for we are like deer and animals of the wilds; and thou canst [do] much with God and with this holy Cross. And we have many sick ones—cure them first [before] that thou goest." And it appears that God permitted that at this season there should be so many sick, upon whom He might well employ His divine pity. For, it being three o'clock in the afternoon when they commenced, they had to bring [sick ones] all the afternoon, all the night, and the next day until ten o'clock. And one of the Religious on one side and the other on the other, with only making the sign of the Cross and saying the Gospel of St. Luke, "*Loquente Iesu*," and the prayer of Our Lady, "*Concede nos*," and that of Our Father St. Francis, "*Deus qui Ecclesiam tuam*"— instantly they rose up well of all their infirmities, the blind, lame, dropsied, and of all their pains. O infinite goodness! May the Angels praise Thee, that thus Thou wishest to honor this sacred Order [*Religion*] and its sons, confirming by their hand, with so many miracles, Thy divine word which those Religious gave; and the soldiers who saw it were as stunned to see so many marvels wrought by their [the Padres'] hands; and the Indians so confirmed in the Faith of the holy Cross that at once [*luego*] they each one placed it [a cross] on the front of his tent, and afterward, each time that they went away from home, they carried it for a guide. So many were they that were miraculously healed there, that they could not be reduced to number. The which [cures] God wrought in such abundance that even the very soldiers who accompanied the Religious made them. For all, God be infinitely praised.

From the [afore]said may well be inferred the so copious spiritual blessings which our seraphic Order [*Religion*] hath discovered throughout all the world. And in this region it alone is the [Order] which with so great travails and risks makes these so superb discoveries. Since, as has been said, in [one] sole stretch of one hundred leagues it has baptized more than eighty thousand souls, and built more than fifty very beautiful churches and monasteries.* And they are more than five hundred thousand Indians, those whom we have pacific [*pacificos* for *pacificados*] and subject to Your Majesty in all the neighboring nations, who are little by little being catechised to be baptized. In [such] sort that though all that territory belonged to the Demon until now, and was thick with idolatry, without there being a person to praise the Most Holy Name of Jesus, today it is all thick with temples and monasteries, and with pedestals of the Cross; and there is no one that does not praise God and His Most Holy Mother aloud in the wilds when they are saluting one another. In which merit Your Majesty is so much a sharer, since with your Royal aid we are sustained in those conversions, and with your Royal incomes [*aueres*, for *haberes*] we found churches to the Lord. For the which I have very great faith that as Your Majesty so

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* See page 6, footnote; also note 39.

Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

John Andrew & Son.

PL. XXXI

ACOMA – THE CHURCH, PUEBLO, AND CLIFF, EAST SIDE.

much spreads our Holy Catholic Faith, our Lord hath to pay you it, even in this life, in the same coin, by extending your Royal Crown, subjecting [to it] so many enemies of the Faith and manifesting to you such rich treasures of mines, as now we have discovered.

KINGDOM OF QUIVIRA AIXAOS*

When these two Religious were working those marvels in the Xumana nation, and in that of the Iapes, Xabatoas,[66] and other [nations] which were there neighboring; *In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum*,† likewise this word reached to the Kingdom of Quivira, and to that of Aixaos, which were 30 or 40 leagues from there, in the same direction of the east. And they sent their embassadors to the padres, that they should go there likewise to teach them and baptize them. Saying how the same Saint [feminine] went there preaching to them that they should come to summon them [the padres]. Well, as the Religious were already on their way to return whence they had come forth, and to take [back] what was necessary to found the churches — they told them [the Indians] that they would go there also, and would bring for them more Religious to aid them. And so with them came the same embassadors, who told us all of the concern with which they were begging [for] baptism. And without fail they [the reinforced missionaries] must have [*aurán* for *habrán*] gone in by now and commenced to work in the vineyard of the Lord.

I cannot omit telling on this occasion, the particular service which my Order [*Religion*] does Your Majesty in the pacification and conversion of this Kingdom of Quivira and Aixaos, since it is of known greatness and richness. Being as the *Villa* of Santa Fé is in thirty-seven degrees [north lat.], and going from there to the east a hundred and fifty leagues, [one] strikes this kingdom; and so it is in the same latitude. Even so, we know by evidence and eyesight that there exists in this kingdom, and in that of the Aixaos which borders upon it, very great quantity of gold. And each day we see their Indians, who trade with ours, who testify to it.[57] And much better [testify] the Flemings and English, who on the side of Florida are near them and barter with them for the gold dust [*metal tierra de oro*] in the greatest quantity. The which they carry off thus to benefit their countries, and the heretics enjoy the so great riches which the Catholic Church in the name of God granted to Your Majesty; and with it they make war on us. Even so, well testifies the Captain and great pilot Vicente Gonçales,[58] of the nation of Lusitania, who from Havana went to coast the coast of Florida. And he entered into that great river where the English are settled. And entering to the interior he saw the Indians of Quivira and Aixaos, with earrings and necklaces of gold, very bulky and so soft that with the fingers they made of them whatever they wished. The Indians assuring [him] that there existed in their Kingdom of Quivira and Aixaos much of that [metal]. So, in order that Your Majesty enjoy all this, it is fitting in any event that this Kingdom of Quivira, and that of the Aixaos, be settled, and that those Indians be Christians. And looking from this post [or, place: *puesto*] of Quivira to the nearest [part] of the sea, which falls to the east, there is shown on the maritime maps a bay with [the] title of the Espíritu Santo, in 29 degrees, between the Cape of Apalache and the coast of Tampico, which is the coast of the north of New Spain [Mexico], within the gulf [*ensenada*, generally a small and open bay or roadstead]. Following the chart, then, from this Kingdom of Quivira to this gulf, it is not so much as a hundred leagues. And from there [the gulf shore] to the Havana one goes in five or six days, coasting the coast. So that if this port or bay of Espíritu Santo were settled

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* In the first impression of the *Memorial* (see our note 2) this heading reads "Reyno de Quivira y Aixaos."

† Romans 10, 18.

Photograph by Chas F Lummis

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

Pl. XXXII

CORONADO'S "TIGUEX"

SANDIA MOUNTAINS, THE RIO GRANDE NEAR BERNALILLO, FOREGROUND, RUINS OF PUEBLO OF TUR-JUÍ-AI up, there would be saved [*se aorrauan*, for *ahorraban*] in that direction more than eight hundred leagues, which are the [distance] from New Mexico to the Havana, coming by [way of] Mexico. The which [leagues] are traveled in more than a year; and four hundred of them through a land of war very perilous, where Your Majesty makes many expenditures in escorts of soldiers, and [in] wagons. And this way from the bay of Espíritu Santo all this is saved in only a hundred leagues of road, which is the [distance] from the Kingdom of Quivira to this bay. And all the road [is] pacific, of friendly and known people, who today must be converted and must be conferring about their baptism; for in this state I left them the year past. Even so by this route the nearness to the Havana being so great, it would be possible easily to have the profit of the hides which could be made from the buffalo herd, and their wool. For as it is a herd which sheds [its hair], the wind is wont to gather together in the plains heaps of it, and it is lost. And so of these goods [or, kind: *genero*], as of many others which that land has. From there [one] can with facility, in light vessels, trade and traffic with all the coast of New Spain, Tampico, San Iuan de Lua [San Juan de Ulua], Campeche, Havana, and Florida, and all in sight of land. Wherewith those ports will go on in increase and riches, whereby Your Majesty will be very much interested [i.e., in the pecuniary sense]. Besides which, in that bay of Espíritu Santo, and [on] all that coast, clear to Florida, there are [*tiene*]* much pearls, and amber; and today they are all lost by [the locality] not being settled. And for this reason so many hostile Hollanders roam there, robbing whatsoever light vessels cross the gulf. And if the bay [of Espíritu Santo] were settled, they would not have anywhere to take refuge. Even so, to carry from Mexico to New Mexico all the necessaries which Your Majesty sends to those churches, one goes through five hundred leagues, and the most of them at war, and then, to reach Quivira, it is necessary to travel another hundred and fifty [leagues] in which Your Majesty will pay more expenses than the principal is worth. And all this is saved [by] sending it in a light vessel from the Havana to the bay of Espíritu Santo, if [that] is settled up.[59]

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*The Fraile forgets the construction with which he began the sentence.

SAINTLY OFFICES IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS BUSY THEMSELVES

Well may it be inferred, from all the aforesaid, how shining are the toils and peregrinations of the Religious of my Father St. Francis, in the service of God our Lord. Since not only have they taken away from the Demon his empire over those souls, which he enjoyed so without contradiction, but that, all idolatry and adorations of the Demon being taken away, only the Lord and Creator of all things is adored. And where nothing appeared but estufas* of idolatry, today all the land is populous [*poblada*] with very sumptuous and beautiful temples, which the Religious have built and put so much care in it [the building of them] that to build them so fine [*tales*, such] they stripped themselves of that which Your Majesty gives them for their sustenance and vesture.[60] The continuous occupation which they have is [that] of Martha and Mary — like Martha following the active life; treating the sick and sustaining the needy poor, for this [purpose] causing fields to be sown and cattle raised. And with this, to break the lands for the Indians that do not live in the settlement.† And after having made them [the] house, and the entire pueblo, and plowed the lands, and sowed them, and given the [Indians] everything necessary for those first months, they bring them to live there, like [civilized] people [*gente*]. Where they teach them to pray all the Christian Doctrine, and good

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*See note 40 and plate XXIV.

† The semi-nomadic tribes, like the Apache, etc., as distinguished from the sedentary, agricultural Pueblos.

Photograph by A. C. Vroman

A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

PL. XXIIII

ZUÑI-ACROSS THE HOUSETOPS

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customs; [and] even so [they teach] the boys to read and write and to sing. For it is [a thing for which] to praise the Lord to see in so little time so many chapels with the organ-chant. And even so all the crafts and trades for human use — such as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and the rest, in which they are already very dexterous.* And all depends upon the solicitude and care of the Religious; for if he were to fall short, all this concert would cease, and all the civilized living in which they are taught after our fashion. As little do they fall short, like Mary, in the contemplative life which is the monastic state that they have professed; since with so many outside occupations in the administering of the holy Sacraments, they do not halt from one pueblo to another; for there is not a Religious who has not under his charge four and five pueblos. [Yet] they live in such sort that it appears they are in a [religious] community; since never do the Matins at midnight fail, and the other hours; and high Mass at its time. And the monasteries [are] with so much concert that they appear rather sanctuaries than the house of one lone fraile, and [one] with so continuous occupations. Their fasts, even unto the Lent of the Benditos,† never fail; and many other spiritual exercises — wherewith they have so edified as well the Spaniards as the Indians, that they respect them as if [they were] angels. I have wished to touch upon this matter thus in passing — avoiding mention of many other things which I could — solely that Your Majesty may know the quality and virtue of those your chaplains, who with so much gratefulness, love, and good-will, commend Your Majesty to God, in that so distant corner and in that primitive church. Where our Lord worketh so many marvels, and whither Your Majesty ought to assist with all favor and aid — as well for the obligations under which the Church put Your Majesty by the Bull of Alexander Sixth,* when he gave you these Kingdoms in God's name for only the care of sustaining there our Holy Catholic Faith and the conversion of so many souls, as likewise for the many mercies which God our Lord doth there to Your Majesty in giving you so many riches as we have discovered in the Province of the Piros (as has been said) and in this Kingdom of the Quivira and Aixaos. And the only [thing] that is lacking to enjoy all that monarchy [i. e., profit by it] is to settle the ports by which may be taken out so much riches, and that there be somebody to develop them. For it is certain that the bars of silver have not to jump out from the mine ready-made, but that they have to be paid for and carried to the house. It is enough that God our Lord show us before our eyes the rich metals and the ports through which we have to enjoy them.[61]

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* From which the superintendents of some of our Indian schools might gain a few points in industrial education instead of teaching the Indian youth printing, drawing, painting, tinning, oratory, etc., for which they have no earthly need when returned to their people, while the textile and fictile arts, in which the sedentary Indian is naturally adept, are slowly but surely being forgotten.— F. W. H.

† Three Lents, I am told, are kept in the Catholic church; the third not of universal obligation, but observed by the most devout. This is the Cuaresma de los Benditos, or Lent of the Blessed.— C. F. L.

COAST OF THE SOUTH [SEA]

Having treated of all the land which we have pacified and converted to God our Lord and to Your Majesty, on this side of the North [Sea],† it is just that Your Majesty know another treasure which has been safeguarded for you more than seventy years now. And after [it was] discovered and seen, it was left so [as it was], until that our Lord should please that its hour should come. It must be seventy years since the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, sent the Captain Alonso‡ Vazquez Coronado[62] to the discovery [or exploration; *descubrimiento* meant this as often as it did "discovery"]

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* In which Bull, May 4, 1493, that Pope divided the New World between Spain and Portugal.

† The North Sea and the South Sea are, of course, the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans respectively.

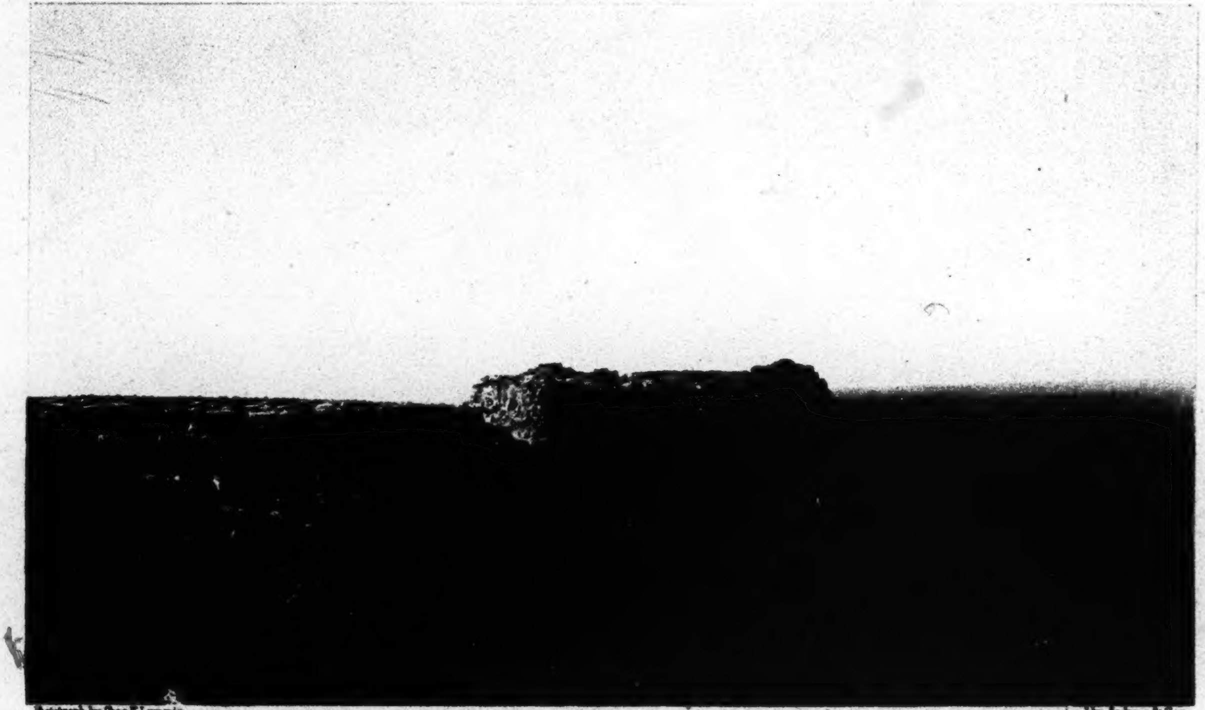
‡ An error for Francisco.

Photograph by A.C Vroman

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

PL. XXXIV

IN THE PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN - THE HOPI (MOQUI) COUNTRY



Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

John Andrew & Son.

PL. XXXV

THE EAST MESA OF THE HOPI (MOQUI), WITH ITS THREE PUEBLOS.

of the coast of the South [Sea]. And there went with him four Religious of my Order.* And although to treat of these nations we could commence from New Mexico, going straight to the South [Sea]; or from the road to New Mexico at the last pueblo of New Spain, which is the valley of Santa Barbara [in Chihuahua, now], going forth to the west — which is to the Occident, as the land is all contiguous and one with New Mexico; and as no other Order [*Religion*] has entered into it except that of my Father St. Francis, which at the cost of its blood has given tidings of our Holy Catholic Faith — of course to make this journey it is not necessary to commence from the [side of] New Mexico, but [it can be done] from the City of Mexico; it appears to me more proper to commence from this city and reach the province[s] of Chiametla, Culuacan, and Sinaloa, which are fifty or sixty leagues from those [provinces] of Xalisco.[63] [One] comes to strike these nations in the following order:

VALLEY OF SEÑORA[64]

I say, then, that going forth from this Province of Chiametla and traveling eighty leagues to the north, always keeping near and coasting the Sea of the South, [one] reaches and hits upon the Valley of Señora. It has sixty leagues of length and ten of width; through the midst of which passes a very wide river. [It is] a land very fertile in plantings, and settled up with many settlements.† The first pueblo is called [Pueblo] of the *Coraçones* [Hearts], on account of the many [hearts] of deer which there they presented to our [people].[65] This pueblo has seven hundred houses very well-ordered; and the climate of the country is very delectable.

AGASTAN[66]

At six leagues outward from this pueblo, in the same direction [i. e., north], is another called Agastan, which is greater than the former. And round about, and through all this valley, are many pueblos. But the principal [one], which is where the cacique of this kingdom ministers, is of three thousand houses very good and sightly. And as well in this [pueblo] as in the rest, they have their temples of idolatry, very sightly; and sepulchres where they inter their principal persons.

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* See notes 4 and 72.

† These were settlements of the Opata Indians.

SIBOLA[67]

Sallying, then, from the last pueblo of this valley of Señora, to the same north, by the same coast of the Sea of the South, [after] forty or fifty leagues is the Province of Sibola. And so, likewise, the principal city is called. The which has in its territory [*comarca*] other seven cities. The first must be [*será*] of a thousand houses, and the others of much more. They are of stone and timber, and of three and four stories, very sightly.

TIHUES

Having passed two other days' journeys in the same direction, [one] runs against the Province of Tihues,* which has very greatly the advantage of the foregoing [Sibola] in beauty and strength of edifices. The first city, going from Sibola, which must be the principal [city] of this kingdom, is called Tihues. It has four thousand houses and more, all very great, in [each of] which lived from ten to fifteen inhabitants. Very high corridors and terraces and very high towers. All this city communicates by the flat roofs and terraces for passages. It was situated in a plain on the banks of a river; surrounded by walls of stone without lime [mortar] but with gypsum. And so the Spaniards were startled by its beauty.

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* This was the Province of Tiguex of Coronado, the Têoas or Tioas country of the *Memorial* proper, and the territory of the Tigua of the present time. (See note 22.) The "principal city" with the vastly exaggerated number of houses was doubtless Puarai.—F. W. H.

[illegible], New Mexico in 1890

Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

John Andrew & Son.

PL. XXXVI

THE COUNTRY OF THE "APACHES DE NAVAJÒ"

CITY[88]

Another city is half a league from this one of Tihues, also on the bank of the river. [It is] of three thousand houses, where the king keeps his wives, a city very beautiful and strong, [built] in a square, whose houses are of stone. It has three plazas, and the smallest is of two hundred paces in width and as many more in length. From these plazas one sallies by streets so narrow that hardly is there room for two on horseback. All the houses have their corridors to the plaza, like those of New Mexico, and their estufas, on the [*plazas*], for the winter. And of these [estufas] there are more than twenty, very great ones; which well argues the much people that are there. Along the same bank of this river, at half a league, and at two, at three, and at four [leagues] are more than twenty other settlements like this one, [some] more and [some] less strong. And along a distance of sixty * leagues which this river runs unto the sea, it goes all inhabited.† And it is called the Rio Bravo [Fierce River; i.e. the Rio Grande],‡ and must have a width of one shot of an arquebuse.

MARVELOUS CRAG[89]

Sallying from Tihues toward the west — and not to the north, as thus far — [at] a space of two days' journey is a city, the strangest and strongest that there can be in the world. The which is of more than two thousand houses, so capacious that they said there were in them more than seven thousand inhabitants, and they even went so far as to say more [than that number]. It is in some great plains of fifteen leagues, in the midst of which is a *peñol* as high as the tower of the church of Sevilla, which appears to be more than a thousand *estados* * [high]. On the height of this *peñol* it is all level for the space of one league,† without [any] kind of tree or hill; on the which [level] is built the city. [Up] there, and below in the plains, they have their plantings and cornfields. All this *peñol*, on the outside, is chopped-off cliff so smooth and upright that it has no place where to climb up, except it is one road made by hand; so narrow that more than one sole person has not room in it, and at intervals some concavities, in order that if two should meet in the road, *there* [at these concavities] they may be able to pass. On top they have very great cisterns and reservoirs [*algibes*, for *aljibes*] of water. By [reason] of which, it [the "city"] is inexpugnable, and [it is] marvelous in everything.

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* *Sesenta;* doubtless misprint for *seiscientas*, 600, which would be no wilder than Benavides' own figures.—C. F. L.

† *Poblado;* i.e., there are settlements along its whole course.

‡ See note 15.

TUZAYAN[70]

Following this same direction to the west, toward the coast of the Sea of the South, eighty leagues from Tihues, is the Province of Tuzayan, which has as many as [*hasta*] thirty pueblos of good houses, though not as [good as] the aforesaid.

CICUYO[71]

Turning about to the north, from the city of Tihues, [at] three or four days' journey, is a plain which extends six leagues, all full of tilled lands among some pineries which yield marvelous piñon-nuts; and other trees graceful and great. There is reared a great and beautiful city, called in the tongue of that land Cycuyo, on level ground. Which must have more than six thousand houses, very great [ones], of six and seven stories. It has two circumvallations, the one ten paces away from the other, of the height of two *estados* [3.7 yards], more than strong enough for among people who do not use artillery. It has its towers with their capitals [or, tops: *chapiteles*],

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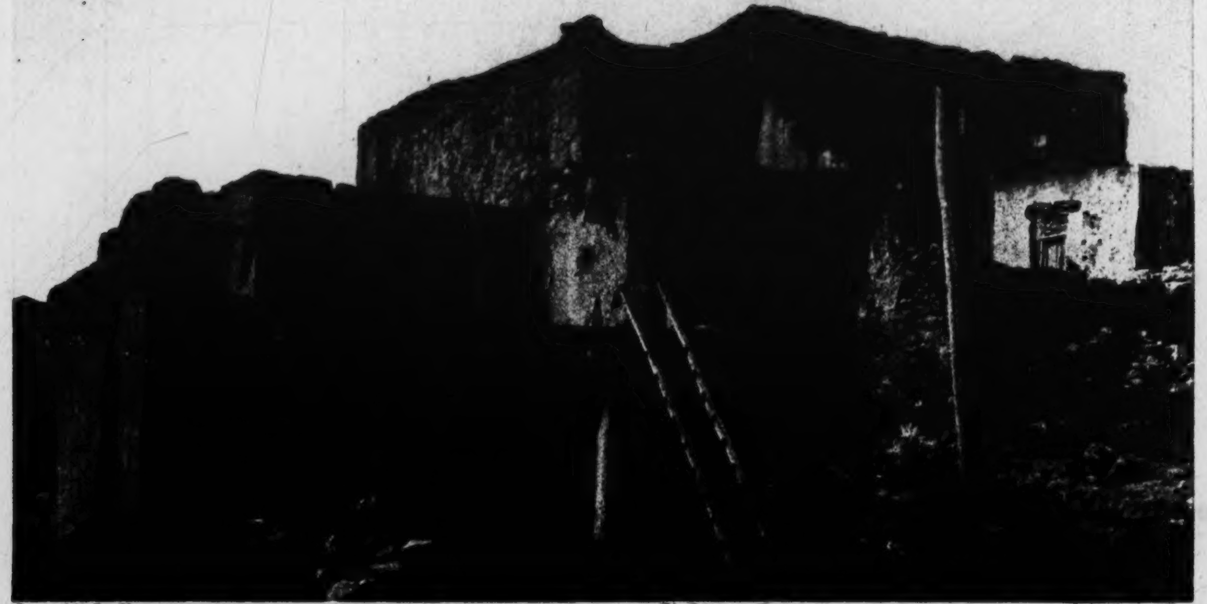
* An estado is 1.864 yards, or 5 ft. 7 in.

† The area of the top of the Acoma *peñol* is really about 70 acres.



Photograph by Chas. F. Lummis.

John Andrew & Son.

Pl. XXXVII

"Their Houses of three and four Stories, very Sightly."

very ruddy and sightly. It has three very great plazas, and in them many estufas; and all the houses with their corridors to the plazas, and the streets narrow [so] that only two on horseback would be able to pass. It is a city very sightly and strong; and so it left our [people] startled.

QUIVIRA [*]

Fifteen short days' journey from Tihues toward the west is the Kingdom of Quivira, where are great and many settlements whose houses are of straw, as in New Spain, because the temperature of here is very tempered. And this nation does not make its edifices with more showiness than they have need for their homely livelihood. And although we call this the Sea of the South, it is that of the California, which traverses from the south to the north until it comes out at the Strait of Anian.

As far as this point arrived Alonso[†] Vazquez Coronado and his people, with our four Religious;[72] and not to pawn himself [*empeñarse*][‡] so much, and with so few people and so little ammunition and provisions, they determined to return, being informed that on one bank and on the other there were huge settlements, and very rich. And having left sown there the seed of the divine word, and knowledge of our God and Lord, as much as that brief time gave room, they returned to give information to the Viceroy of that which they had seen. And [that region] remained thus, until God may be pleased that its hour arrive and that Y[our] Majesty enjoy [the profit of; *goze*] that monarchy also. May it please the Majesty of God to dispose it all in [such] sort that all those souls may know and adore His most holy name, and attain the holy Sacrament of Baptism. And unto Your Majesty, spirit, grace and might, for making subject unto the Church and unto your Royal Crown so many barbarous nations as there inhabit.

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[*] See note 56. This description of Quivira is totally at variance with Benavides' knowledge of that "province" and its location, and gives adequate ground for the belief that Benavides was not its author. The reference to Quivira being situated *westward* from "Tihues" was probably not unintentional, as various early maps locate the province on the Pacific coast.— F. W. H.

[†] An error for Francisco.

[‡] I. e., involve himself.

FRAY ALONSO DE BENAUIDES.

THIS is the Memorial which the said padre Fray Alonso de Venauedis [*sic*] has extracted and collected, as well from things experienced and seen by him in his time as from a legal brief and other authentic narrations which the padre Commissary-General of New Spain transmitted to me. From the which Memorial Your Majesty will have understood the great fruits, spiritual and temporal, with which God our Lord hath willed to requite the Catholic zeal which Your Majesty has demonstrated in favoring with your Royal stipends those conversions; with so much benefit to more than five hundred thousand souls by [the] industry and solicitude, and not without the immense travail of the sons of this seraphic Order [*Religion*]. The which [Franciscans] as well in these conversions as in all the rest in that New World, in the East Indies and West [Indies], have been the first that so disinterestedly have put their shoulder [to the work], and given happy and prosperous beginning to so glorious enterprises. For so much, I supplicate Your Majesty to deign to command anew that those conversions be favored with sending to them, and to all the provinces of my Order (the which alone in all America occupies itself today in new conversions) Religious from those [provinces] of Spain — from whence they [the missions or "conversions"] have always had their beginning and conservation. For the harvest is so great and copious, and the laborers over there so few that no one of those provinces can provide them — not even [*aunque sea;* lit., although it were] that [Province] of the Holy Evangel. For, granting that this [*Província del Santo Evangélio*] may have as

Photograph by A C Vroman

A W Elson & Co. Boston

PL. XXXVIII

A NAVAHO HOGAN

many [Religious] as suffice it, if they have to be such as it is well should be chosen for these Apostolic missions, it cannot give them to the rest [of the provinces] without itself remaining in notable decay and [in] need of that which so much imports it for its conservation in the perfection and observance of its rules and fulfillment of its obligations. And thus the padre Commissary-General of those provinces writes me that all are in very urgent necessity that Your Majesty provide them with Religious from here [Spain] to cultivate them [the provinces]. In order that, seeing themselves favored with such protection and aid, the Religious may recover courage and exert themselves to prosecute and carry forward the many and advantageous services which they have done in those regions for both [your] Majesties.

FRAY IUAN DE SANTANDER,
Commissary-General of [*the*] *Indies.*

SPANISH TEXT OF THE MEMORIAL

MEMORIAL

QVE FRAY IVAN DE SANTANDER DE LA Orden de ſan Franciſco, Comiſſario General de Indias, preſenta a la Mageſtad Catolica del Rey don Felipe QVARTO nueſtro Señor.

HECHO POR EL PADRE FRAY ALONSO
de Benauides Comiſſario del Santo Oficio, y Cuſtodio que ha
ſido de las Prouincias, y conuerſiones del
Nueuo-Mexico.

TRATASE EN EL DE LOS TESOROS ESpirituales, y temporales, que la diuina Mageſtad ha manifeſtado
en aquellas conuerſiones, y nueuos deſcubrimientos, por
medio de los Padres deſta ſerafica Religion.

CON LICENCIA

En Madrid en la Imprenta Real. Año M. DC. XXX.

Señor.

FRAI Iuan de Santander, de la Orden de ſan Franciſco, Comiſſario general de las Indias, digo: Que con la relacion que me hizo el Padre Frai Alonſo de Benauides, Cuſtodio de las conuerſiones del Nueuo-Mexico, el año paſſado de 1626. en 20. de Iunio, de los grandes aumẽtos en q̃ aquellas cõuerſiones ivan, y la falta q̃ de Religioſos auia para ſu adminiſtracion, informè a V.M. atendiẽdo a lo qual con el acoſtũbrado zelo de tan Catolico Rey y ſeñor, fue ſeruido de mandar librar vna Real cedula del tenor ſiguiente. Marques de Cerraluo, pariente, mi Virrey Gouernador, y Capitan general de las Prouincias de la Nueua-Eſpaña, ò a la perſona, o perſonas a cuyo cargo fuere ſu gouierno, Frai Iuan de Santander, Comiſſario general de Indias, me a hecho relacion, que ha mas de treinta años que dieron principio a la conuerſion del

Nueuo-Mexico Religioſos de ſu Orden, adonde eſtuuieron mas tiempo de doze años, ſin poder hazer ningun fruto en aquellas almas; y ſin embargo, ſiẽpre tuuo cuidado la Prouincia del ſanto Euangelio de embiar Comiſſario y Religioſos a aquella tierra; y que aurà como cinco años, por el Capitulo Prouincial, q̃ ſe celebrò en la del ſanto Euangelio, fue eregida la del Nueuo-Mexico en cuſtodia, y por Cuſtodio della Frai Alonſo de Benauides, Religioſo de buen exemplo y vida, y le diſtis deſpacho para lleuar veinte y ſeis Miniſtros a aquellas conuerſiones (como los lleuò) y que al preſente no ay ſino diez y ſeis Sacerdotes, y tres legos, por auerſe muerto los demas, y ſiẽdo tan pocos, y el diſtrito de la dicha cuſtodia de mas de cien leguas de camino, aſpero, y montuoſo, y los Indios que alli ay ſon treinta y quatro mil y trecientos y veinte, no pueden acudir a la adminiſtracion dellos; ſuplicòme fueſſe ſeruido de mandar, que vos y eſſa Audiencia, embiaſſedes a la dicha cuſtodia haſta treinta Miniſtros Sacerdotes, y algunos legos, y que paſſando las dichas conuerſiones adelante, los fueſſedes ſocorriendo con lo neceſſario. Y auiẽdoſe viſto en mi Conſejo Real de las Indias, lo he tenido por bien, y aſsi os mando hagais, que a la dicha cuſtodia del Nueuo-Mexico ſe embien treinta Religioſos, para la dicha conuerſion y dotrina de los Indios; y en lo de adelante tendreis mucho cuidado en que ſean proueidos de los que parecieren ſer neceſſarios, que aſsi es mi voluntad. Madrid, quinze de Nouiembre de mil y ſeiſcientos y veinte y ſiete. Y en cumplimiento y conformidad de tan Catolica cedula, y mandato, fueron de la Prouincia del ſanto Euangelio de Mexico, el año paſſado de ſeiſciẽtos y veinte y nueue, treinta Religioſos de exemplar vida, y con la diſpoſicion que los que allà eſtauan auian hecho, y la predicacion y exercicio deſtos treinta, que de nueuo fueron por mandado de V. M. ha obrado nueſtro Señor tantas marauillas y milagros, y hecho tan grandioſos deſcubrimientos de riquezas, aſsi eſpirituales, como temporales, que le parecio al Virrey de la Nueua-Eſpaña, y Comiſſario general de aquella parte, que el dicho Padre Frai

Alonſo de Benauides, como perſona por cuya mano paſsò el gouierno de aquellas conuerſiones eſtos años, vinieſſe perſonalmente a manifeſtar a V.M. los grandioſos frutos del zelo con que V. M. las fauorece y ampara, dandole aun en ellas en eſta vida parte del premio infinito que ſe le eſpera, y merece; pues de mas del teſoro de quinientas mil almas cõuertidas a nueſtra ſanta Fè Catolica, y ſujetas a V.M. de las quales eſtan ya bautizadas mas de las ochenta y ſeis mil: tambien en lo temporal lo paga nueſtro Señor con el deſcubrimiento de tan ricos teſoros de minas tã proſperas. Y porque el dicho Padre ha llegado a eſta Corte ſolo con eſte fin, auiendo caminado en eſte año de ſeiſcientos y treinta, mas de dos mil y ſeiſcientas leguas, con muchos rieſgos y trabajos, y ſer perſona digna de todo credito, y de la merced que V.M. fuere ſeruido de hazerle, por lo mucho que en aquellas conuerſiones ha trabajado.

A V. Mageſtad pido y ſuplico ſea ſeruido atender aſsi al memorial que preſenta, en el qual reſumidamente refiere todo lo que en aquellas conuerſiones ha obrado nueſtro Señor con el Real amparo de V.M. como tambien a que de palabra manifieſte lo mucho q̃ nueſtra Religion ſirue en aquel tan remoto Reino ſuyo, con tanto aprouechamiento de las almas de tantos barbaros infieles, que han venido al conocimiẽto de nueſtro buen Dios y Señor, de cuyo principal merito goza V.M. y ſu memorial es en la forma ſiguiente.

Frai Iuan de Santander
Comiſſario general de Indias.

Señor.

FRAI Alonſo de Benauides de la Orden de ſan Franciſco, Cuſtodio de las conuerſiones, y Cuſtodia del Nueuo-Mexico, digo: Que los ſuceſſos y coſas de aquel Reino, ò por mejor dezir, Nueuo-mundo, que eſtos años preſentes auemos conuertido, y pacificado a Dios nueſtro Señor, y a la obediencia de V. M. los Religioſos de mi Padre ſan

Franciſco, primeros, y vnicos en el, por no auer haſta aora entrado alli otra Religion, ſon tantos y tales, que de vna vez, y en breue no podrè repreſentarlos; porque con los Reales auxilios, y amparo de V. M. auemos deſcubierto grandes teſoros, aſsi eſpirituales, como temporales; los quales la diuina Mageſtad ha querido calificar con tantas marauillas y milagros, que le parecio al Virrey de Mexico, y a mi Religion, mandarme, que perſonalmente vinieſſe a manifeſtarlas y repreſentarlas a V.M. como perſona que las ha gouernado, y adminiſtrado muchos años; y que en lo que quedare corto en eſte memorial, por no ſer prolixo, a quien tanto deſeamos ſeruir, lo diga de palabra en los ratos que V.M. fuere ſeruido de oírme, y tendrè por mui grande premio de los muchos rieſgos, trabajos, y peregrinaciones que alli paſſamos, con tan luzido aprouechamiento en honra y gloria de Dios nueſtro Señor, que ſi quiera venga a noticia de V.M. y ſepa el grāde merito, y oraciones que en aquellas Prouincias, y Reino tan remoto goza, que diſtan de aqui mas de dos mil y ſeiſcientas leguas, las quales para eſte efeto he caminado en eſte año de ſeiſcientos y treinta, teniendolo todo por mui bien empleado, en verme a los pies de V.M. Y digo aſsi.

Naciones que habitan el camino del Nueuo-Mexico.

EL Reino y Prouincias del Nueuo-Mexico eſtà ſituado quatrocientas leguas adelante de la ciudad de Mexico al Norte, en treinta y ſiete grados; y aunque alli eſtan las poblaciones, comiença ſu diſtrito docientas leguas antes, que es en el valle de Santa-Barbara, vltimo pueblo de la Nueua-Eſpaña, por aquella parte, cuya diuiſion haze el rio de Conchos, llamado aſsi por la nacion Concha, que lo habita; y deſte vamos en demanda del rio del Norte cien leguas, las quales ſe paſſan con mui grandes rieſgos, por habitarlas las naciones Toboſos, Tarahumares, Tepeoanes, Tomites, Sumas, Hanos, y otros, gente muy feroz, barbara, y indomita; porque andan ſiempre totalmente deſnudos, ſin tener caſa, ni ſementera alguna,viuen de lo que caçan,que es todo genero de animales,aunque ſean inmundos , mudandoſe para eſto de vnos cerros a otros, y ſobre el juego ſuelen eſtas naciones tener guerras ciuiles, y ſe matan brutalmente, ſus armas ſon arco y flecha,que ſon las generales de todas las naciones ; quando paſſamos por entre ellos, nos embiſtē cara a cara, ſi ven poca gente,y hazen el mal que pueden; por lo qual no ſe puede paſſar menos q̄ cō doze hombres cō ſus cauallos, de armas mui biē apercibidos , y aun deſta ſuerte ſe ha de ir con cuidado, haziēdo lūbre a prima noche en vna parte,para diuertirlos,y paſſarla lo mas adelante que ſe pudiere; y por lo menos quando ven mucha fuerça y gente, procuran de noche en ſus emboſcadas hazer el daño que pueden en la cauallada; y deſde que ſe deſcubrio el Nueuo-Mexico , ſiempre que ſe paſſan eſtas cien leguas , ha auido guerras con eſtos Indios, en defenſa de los daños que pretenden hazernos,aunque por la miſericordia de Dios nueſtro Señor,ſiempre los Eſpañoles ſalen con vitoria,auemos procurado todo lo poſsible,cōuertir.y pacificar eſtas naciones, aſsi por el bien de las almas, como por la ſeguridad del camino, y es tanta ſu barbaridad, que ni aun ſe dexan hablar. Serà nueſtro Señor ſeruido que ſe llegue el tiempo de ſu conuerſion como a las demas.

Nacion Manſa del rio del Norte.

PAſſadas eſtas cien leguas, llegamos al famoſo rio del Norte, que tiene eſta denominaciõ, por traer de allà muchas leguas ſu corriẽte; eſtà eſte rio cien leguas antes de llegar al Nueuo-Mexico; habitado de vna nacion, q̃ comunmente llamamos, Manſos, ò Gorretas; porque de tal ſuerte ſe afeitan el cabello, que parece traen pueſta vna gorreta en la cabeça: y aſsimiſmo, eſcarmentados de que nueſtros perros los han mordido algunas vezes, quando ellos nos reciben de guerra; y quando vienen de paz, y manſos, dezimos a los perros, ſal aí, porque no los muerdan, ſuelen ellos tãbien preuenirſe, que les atagemos los perros diziendonos, ſal aí, ſal aí, manſo, manſo; y por eſte nõbre de Manſos ſon conocidos comunmente entre noſotros. Tambien eſta es gente que no tiene caſa, ſino ranchos de ramas, ni ſiembran, ni ſe viſten ellos en particular, ſino todos deſnudos; y ſolamente ſe cubren las mugeres de la cinta a baxo, con dos pellejos de venado, vno adelante, y otro atras. Tambien ſon de la condicion de los antecedentes, que ſi ven la ſuya hazen todo el mal que pueden; pero no pudiendo, ſe vienen todos de paz a buſcarnos, para que les demos de comer, que eſte es ſu principal fin, y ſe comen entre pocos vna baca cruda, no dexando nada de la pança, pues aun para limpiarla de la vaſcoſidad, no reparan en tragarſela aſsi, como perros, cogiendola con la boca, y cortandola con cuchillos de pedernal, y tragando ſin maſcar. Eſtos Manſos pues, como eſtan en el paſſo deſte rio, es fuerça topar ſiempre con ellos, y ſuelen lleuarnos a ſus propias rancherias, para que les demos de comer a ſus mugeres, y hijos, y tambien nos ſuelen regalar con lo que tienen, que es peſcado y ratones. Es gente muy diſpueſta, bien ageſtada y

for-

fornida. De tantas vezes como les auemos predicado,me dixeron aora quando paſsè por ellos, que ſe holgarian de tener alli Religioſos que los enſeñaſſen, y bautizaſſen, y fuera de muy grande importancia; porque de mas de lo principal, que es la conuerſion de las almas redemidas,como las nueſtras,con la ſangre de nueſtro Señor;fuera tambien aſſegurar el paſſo deſtas dozientas leguas, y principio, para que de alli ſe conuirtieran, y redugeran las otras naciones comarcanas,coſa que ſe pudiera conſeguir,poniẽdo alli tres ò quatro Religioſos,cõ ſolos quinze ò veinte ſoldados de eſcolta, con que ſe euitarian las demas que ſe hazẽ tan a coſta de V.M.cada vez q̃ ſe paſſa al Nueuo-Mexico,y ſe poblarian con eſta ſeguridad muchos reales de minas muy ricas que ay por todo eſte camino,y grãdioſos ſitios de eſtãcias,cõ aguas,y paninos de tierras muy buenas,cõ q̃ ſe traginaria aquel camino cada año, y todas las vezes que ſe quiſieſſe,y no que por falta deſta ſeguridad ſe paſsã cinco y ſeis años, ſin que en el Nueuo-Mexico ſepamos de la nacion Eſpañola, haſta que va el deſpacho ſituado para ſocorro de los Religioſos, y Igleſias a q̃ V. M. acude con tan Catolico zelo, y aũque es verdad, que eſtà ſituado y determinado, que ſe haga puntualmente cada tres años, ſe ſuelen paſſar cinco y ſeis, ſin que los oficiales Reales ſe acuerden de noſotros; y ſabe Dios lo que cueſta el ſolicitarlo. Eſtà ya eſta nacion Manſa muy diſpueſta para ſu conuerſion; porque todas las vezes que les hablamos de Dios, nos oyen con mucho agrado, y ſienten mucho que ayan de ir a arder al infierno ſi no ſe bautizan: y aſsi dizen, que eſtan con pena de que no tienẽ, como las demas naciones, Religioſos que alli los enſeñen. No puedo dexar de dezir lo que aqui me ſucedio; y fue, que entrando en vna rancheria deſta nacion Manſa, puſe en ella vna Cruz del tamaño de vna lança, y les dixe, entre otras coſas, que aquella era la ſeñal de Dios, q̃ todos los Chriſtianos la teniamos cõ noſotros, y la teniamos en los pueblos, y caſas en que viuiamos, que en nueſtras neceſsidades, dolores, y enfermedades le pediamos el remedio, y por virtud de aquella ſanta Cruz, nos las remediaua: y que aſsi ellos tuuieſſen muy grande fee con ella, que en ſus enfermedades la adoraſſen, y tocaſſen, que ſi tenian fee, que ſanarian dellas: Coſa de ver era los que llegauan luego a la ſanta Cruz de rodillas a tocarla y beſarla, como me lo auian viſto hazer, y entre otras vi llegar vna India con dolor de muelas, y que con grande afecto abria la boca con las manos, y arrimaua las muelas a la ſanta Cruz; y otra con dolores de parto, con la miſma fee llegar, y arrimar el vientre a la ſanta Cruz; y aunque alli no tuue interprete cõ quien ſaber el efeto, tengo gran fee con la diuina Mageſtad, que obraria tambien alli ſus marauillas en confirmacion de ſu diuina palabra, y como *non eſt veſtrum noſce tempora vel momenta, quæ poſuit Deus in ſua poteſtate*; el ſabe quando ſe llegarâ la hora tan dichoſa a eſta nacion, y conſuelome con ver ſolamente por aora la diſpoſicion que tiene.

Principio de la nacion Apache.

PRoſiguiendo pues al miſmo Norte treinta leguas por eſta nacion Manſa, topamos con la grandioſa nacion Apache, que por eſta parte ſe llaman los del Perrillo, por auer vno alli deſcubierto vn aguage, que fue de mucha importancia para eſte camino, porque ſe paſſauan muchas leguas ſin agua, con muchiſsimo trabajo: y aſsi le quedò a eſta Prouincia el nombre Apaches del Perrillo; de los quales dirè deſpues en ſu lugar, por ſer la mayor del mundo; y aunque eſtos Apaches ſon muy belicoſos, ſon de mas confiança que las naciones antecedentes, y paſſamos por ellos con menos cuidado, haſta llegar a encontrar otra vez con el rio del Norte, a orillas del qual comiençan las poblaciones del Nueuo-Mexico, en la forma ſiguiente.

Prouincia, y nacion de los Piros, Senecu, Socorro, Seuilleta,

LLegado a eſte rio por eſta parte, comiençan las primeras poblaciones, por la Prouincia y nacion Pira, con muchos pueblos, y caſas de adobes, de vno y dos altos, con ſus corredores a las plaças , gente veſtida , y de Republica , ſugeta à ſus Capitanes, grandes labradores de todo genero de ſemillas , aſsi ſuyas, como las que les auemos lleuado : muy grandes cazerias de venados , conejos , liebres , y muchos generos de peſcados en el rio. Es la tierra deſta Prouincia tan fertil, que todo lo que en ella ſe ſiembra, ſe dà con mucha abundancia , en particular el piñon ; que aunque es general por toda aquella tierra, en eſta Prouincia es mucho mejor que en las demas, por el mejor temple que tiene: y aũque eſta es la primera Prouincia de aquel Reyno , fue de las poſtreras en ſu conuerſion. Fue Dios ſeruido, que ſe llegaſſe ſu hora , y el año de mil y ſeiſcientos y veinte y ſeis, ſiendo Cuſtodio de aquellas conuerſiones , me dedique al Señor en la conuerſion de aquellas almas , dedicando ſu pueblo principal a la Virgen ſantiſsima del Socorro. Y aſsi en aquel año primero fue nueſtro Señor ſeruido de fauorecerme, de tal ſuerte, que todos quedaron bautizados, y ſon oy muy buenos Chriſtianos, y he fundado en eſta Prouincia tres Conuentos,y Igleſias:el vno en el pueblo de Seneccu, dedicado a ſan Antonio de Padua : el otro en el pueblo Pilabo, a la Virgen del Socorro: otro en el de Sivilleta, dedicado a ſan Luis Obiſpo,de mi Religion.

EL principio que tuuo la fundacion y pueblo de Sivilleta, es bien le ſepa V.M. eſtaua deſpoblado por guerras con otras naciones que le quemaron, y le llamauan nueſtros Eſpañoles Sivilleta : andauan ſus naturales deſparramados por algunos cerros, con eſtos fundè aquel pueblo de nueuo, y congreguè alli à otros muchos, con que oy eſta vno de los mejores pueblos que alli tiene V. Mageſtad. Eſtos tres Conuentos, tiene cada vno a ſu cargo otros pueblos comarcanos, a que acuden los Religioſos con grande cuidado, y eſpiritu:y por eſcuſar prolixidad dexo de referir aqui los rieſgos,frios,calamidades, y trabajos, y caſos particulares, que en la conuerſion deſta Prouincia me han ſucedido,
dexandolo todo a Dios por
quien ſe hizo.

(✱)

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Minas del Socorro.

NO es con menos pujança el bien temporal que Dios nueſtro Señor ha ſido ſeruido manifeſtar en eſta Prouincia, con que V.M. ſupla los grandes gaſtos, que como tan Catolico haze en el ſuſtento, aſsi nueſtro, como de aquellas Igleſias; porque toda ella eſtà llena de muy grandes teſoros de minas muy ricas, y proſperas de plata, y oro: coſa que bien de ordinario, como tan aficionados Capellanes, y vaſſallos, pediamos a Dios, y haziendo diligēcia por medio de perſona inteligēte, las venimos a deſcubrir; por q̄ le damos en nōbre de V.M infinitas gracias, en particular el cerro del pueblo del Socorro, principal, y cabeça deſta Prouincia de los Piros, q̄ todo el es de minerales muy proſperos, q̄ corrē de Norte a Sur mas de cincuēta leguas; y por falta de quien lo entiēda, y gaſte en ſu beneficio, no ſe goza de las mayores riquezas del mundo, y V.M. pierde ſus Reales quintos. La facilidad de ſacar la plata deſte cerro, es la mayor y mejor de todas las Indias, y que valdra mas ſacar aqui vn marco de plata, q̃ en las demas a muchos;porque a las demas ſe lleua muy de lexos todos los materiales,y baſtimẽtos,haſta el agua, cuyos gaſtos ſe lleuan toda la plata q̃ ſe ſaca;pero en eſtas minas del Socorro todo eſtà al pie de la obra:y aunque es verdad,q̃ a los principios de las conuerſiones ſeria auyentar los Indios con el trabajo de las minas, con todo ſiento, que adminiſtrandolas perſonas de moderada codicia, que trataſſen bien a los Indios, y les pagaſſen ſu trabajo, conformandoſe aora a los principios con ſu capacidad ſimple,y floxa en el trabajo, que no ſolo no los auyentarian, ſino que los acariciarian por eſte camino, y ſe reduzirian a nueſtro trato, y comunicacion; y ellos propios, viendo, y ſabiendo, que no los tratauan mal, y que ſe les pagaua ſu trabajo, vendrian a ofrecerſe a el: à los Miniſtros con eſto nos ſeria mas facil reduzirlos de paz. Con todo me determinè à ſacar cantidad de metales de diferentes betas de aquellas minas, y los di à algunos mineros de la Nueua-Eſpaña, que haziendo enſayes dellos, y echando de ver tan-

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ta riqueza, ſe eſtauan apreſtando para entrar con gente en el Nueuo-Mexico, y beneficiarlas, y el Virrey quedaua haziendo muy grandes enſayes, con zelo del ſeruicio de V. Mageſtad, para aumentar por aqui ſus Reales quintos. Eſtiendeſe eſta Prouincia de los Piros por el rio del Norte arriba, deſde el primer pueblo de San-Antonio de Senecu, haſta el poſtrero San-Luis de Seuilleta, quinze leguas, adonde ay catorze pueblos a vn lado y a otro del rio, en que aura ſeis mil almas, todas bautizadas, con tres Conuentos como queda dicho, en que los Religioſos, demas de la enſeñança, y dotrina de nueſtra ſanta Fè Catolica, enſeñan a cantar, leer, y eſcriuir, y todos oficios, y a viuir politicamente en ſus eſcuelas.

Nacion Teoas.

SVbiendo el miſmo rio arriba ſiete leguas, comiença la nacion Teoas, con quinze, ò diez y ſeis pueblos, en q̃ aura ſiete mil almas, en diſtrito de doze ò treze leguas, todos bau tizados, con dos Conuentos, que es el de ſan Franciſco de Sandia, y el de ſan Antonio de la Iſleta, adonde ay eſcuelas de leer y eſcriuir, cantar, y tañer todos inſtrumentos, y bien doctrinados, y con curioſidad en la vida politica: ſon eſtos dos Conuentos, y Igleſias muy coſtoſas, y curioſas, con la ſolicitud y eſpiritu de los Religioſos que las fundaron, y todos los otros pueblos tienen tambiẽ ſus Igleſias muy curioſas.

Nacion Queres.

PAſſando adelante otras quatro leguas, comiença la nacion Queres por ſu primer pueblo de ſan Felipe, y ſe dilata por mas de diez leguas, en ſiete pueblos, aura en ellos quatro mil almas, todas bautizadas, con tres Conuentos, y Igleſias muy coſtoſas, y curioſas, fuera de las que tiene cada pueblo. Son eſtos Indios muy dieſtros en leer, eſcriuir, y tañer todos inſtrumentos, y oficiales de todos oficios, con la induſtria grande del Religioſo que los conuirtio: es tambien tierra muy fertil, de todo lo que en ella ſe ſiembra.

Nacion Tompiras.

DExando el rio del Norte, y apartandonos de la nacion antecedente ázia el Oriente diez leguas, comiença la nacion Tõpira por ſu primer pueblo de Chilili, y ſe dilata por aquella parte mas de quinze leguas por catorze, ò quinze pueblos, en que aura mas de diez mil almas, con ſeis Conuentos, y Igleſias muy buenas, todos conuertidos; y los demas bautizados, y otros que ſe van catequizando, y enſeñando, y ſus eſcuelas de todas artes, como en los demas, tierra poco fructifera, por los muchos frios, y pocas aguas: en eſta Prouincia eſtan las grandioſas ſalinas, diez leguas de las minas del Socorro. No puedo dexar de dezir aqui vn dicho del demonio, por boca de vn Indio hechizero, conuencido de la palabra de Dios: quando comencè la conuerſion del pueblo grande de los Xumanas, el qual dediquè al glorioſo S. Iſidoro Arçobiſpo de Seuilla, por auer hecho la conuerſion en ſu dia; y fue, que viendoſe conuencido, y que con mis razones ſe auia todo el pueblo determinado a ſer Chriſtiano, ſe enojo el hechizero mucho, y dixo a vozes: Voſotros los Eſpañoles y Chriſtianos, como ſois locos, y viuis como locos, quereis enſeñarnos a que lo ſeamos tambien; preguntèle, que en que eramos locos, y el deuia de auer viſto alguna proceſsion de diciplina de ſemana Santa en algun pueblo de Chriſtianos, y aſsi dixo: ſois tan locos los Chriſtianos, que todos juntos os vais açotãdo como locos por las calles, derramando ſangre, y aſsi deueis de querer, que tambien eſte pueblo ſea loco; y con eſto muy enojado, dando vozes, ſe fue del pueblo, diziendo, que no queria ſer loco; coſa de que todos ſe quedaron riẽdo, y yo mucho mas, en conocer, y perſuadirme, que era el demonio, q̃ ſe iva huyendo, confuſo de la virtud de la diuina palabra.

Nacion Tanos.

BOluiendo pues ázia el Norte otras diez leguas, topamos con el primer y principal pueblo de la nacion Tanos, que ſe dilata por diez leguas en cinco pueblos, adõde aura quatro mil almas bautizadas, con vn Conuento y Igleſia muy buena, y los pueblos las tienen tambien, en que ſe les va a dezir Miſſa deſde el Conuento: ay aqui eſcuelas de todas Artes, como en los demas.

Nacion Peccos.

AL miſmo Norte otras quatro leguas, ſe topa con el pueblo de los Peccos, q̃ tiene mas de dos mil almas, adõde ay vn Conuẽto y Templo muy luzido, de particular hechura y curioſidad, en que vn Religioſo puſo muy grande trabajo y cuidado; y aunque eſtos Indios ſon de la nacion Hemes, por eſtar aqui ſolos, y deſviados de ſu territorio, ſe tiene por nacion aparte, aunque es vna miſma lengua: es tierra frigidiſsima y poco fertil, aunque da el maiz neceſſario para ſus habitadores, porque ſiembran mucho Eſtan eſtos Indios muy biẽ induſtriados de todas Artes, y ſus eſcuelas de leer, y eſcriuir, cantar, y tañer, como los demas.

Villa de Santa-Fè.

BOluiendo del pueblo antecedente ázia el Ocidente ſiete leguas, eſtà la villa de Santa-Fè, cabeca deſte Reino, adonde reſiden los Gouernadores, y Eſpañoles, que ſeran haſta dozientos y cincuenta, aunque ſolos los cincuenta ſe podran armar por falta de armas, y aunque pocos y mal auiados, ha permitido Dios, que ſiempre ſalgan con vitoria, y cauſado en los Indios tan grande miedo dellos, y de ſus arcabuzes, que de ſolo oir dezir, que va vn Eſpañol a ſus pueblos huyen, y para conſeruar eſte miedo, quando ſe ofrece caſtigar algun pueblo reuelde, vſan con ellos de grandes rigores, que ſino fuera eſto, muchas vezes huuieran intentado matar a los Eſpañoles, viendolos tan lexos de la Nueua-Eſpaña, de donde les podria venir algun ſocorro: ſon todos ſoldados bien dotrinados y humildes, y de buen exemplo, por la mayor parte a los Indios. A eſte preſidio ſuſtenta V. M. no con pagas de ſu caxa Real, ſino haziendolos encomen-

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menderos de aquellos pueblos, por mano del Gouernador; el tributo que les dã los Indios, es cada caſa vna manta, que es vna vara de lienço de algodon, y vna fanega de maiz cada año, con que ſe ſuſtentan los pobres Eſpañoles; tendran de ſeruicio ſetecientas almas, deſuerte, que entre Eſpañoles meſtizos, y Indios aura mil almas, y gente tan puntual en la obediencia de ſus Gouernadores, que a qualquiera facion que ſe ofrezca, ſalen con ſus armas, y cauallos, y a ſu coſta, y hazen valeroſos hechos: ſolo le faltaua lo principal, que era la Igleſia, y la que tenian era vn jacal malo, porque los Religioſos acudian primero a fabricar las Igleſias de los Indios que conuertian, y con quienes aſiſtian y viuian: y aſsi luego que entrè por Cuſtodio, comence a fabricar la Igleſia, y Conuento, y a honra y gloria de Dios nueſtro Señor, puede luzir en qualquiera parte, adonde ya los Religioſos, enſeñan a Eſpañoles, y a Indios a leer, y eſcriuir, tañer, y cantar, y todas artes de pulicia: es pueſto, aunque frio, el mas fertil de todo el Nueuo-Mexico.

Nacion Teoas.

PRoſiguiendo mas al Ocidente ázia el rio del Norte, que auemos dexado, comiença la nacion Teoas, dilataſe eſta Prouincia en eſpacio de onze, o doze leguas, por ocho pueblos, en los quales aura ſeis mil almas: fue eſta nacion la primera en el bautiſmo deſte Reyno, de que ellos ſe precian mucho, y muy amigos de los Eſpañoles, a quien ſiruen mas de ordinario, y los acõpañan en todas ſus guerras; tiene tres Conuentos, y Igleſias de mucha curioſidad, en particular la de San Ileſonſo, en que puſo mucho cuidado el Religioſo que la fundò, y todos los pueblos tienen ſus Igleſias, adonde les van a dezir Miſſa, y eſtan muy bien dotrinados en todas artes; es tierra muy fertil por auerle traido vn Religioſo el agua para el riego de ſus ſementeras, y mucho peſcado del rio del Norte, que paſſa por alli.

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Nacion Hemes.

PAſſando eſte rio a la parte del Ocidente a ſiete leguas, ſe topa con la nacion Hemes, la qual quando entrè por Cuſtodio, ſe auia deſparramado por todo el Reino, y eſtaua ya caſi deſpoblada por hambre y guerras, que los iuan acabando, adonde los mas eſtauan ya bautizados, y con ſus Igleſias, con harto trabajo, y cuidado de algunos Religioſos, y aſsi procurè luego reduzirla, y congregarla en la miſma Prouincia, y puſe Religioſo, que con cuidado acudio a ello, y la auemos congregado en dos pueblos, que es en el de San Ioſeph, que todavia eſtaua en pie, con vna muy ſuntuoſa, y curioſa Igleſia, y Conuento, y en el de San Diego, de la Congregacion, que para eſte efeto fundamos de nueuo, trayendo alli los Indios que auia de aquella nacion, que andauan deſcarriados; y tambien dandoles caſa hecha, y en ella ſuſtento para algunos dias, y tierras aradas para ſus ſementeras, que para eſtos gaſtos, y otros ſemejantes de caridad, ſolemos los Religioſos comutar haſta el ſayal que V. M. nos haze limoſna para nueſtro veſtuario, y aſsi eſtà oy aquella congregacion vno de los mejores pueblos de las Indias, con ſu Igleſia, y Conuento, y eſcuelas de todas artes, como en los demas: y aunque ſe ha muerto mas de la mitad deſta nació, con todo tiene V.M. alli mas de tres mil tributarios congregados.

Nacion Picuries.

BOluiendo pues a la nacion Teoas, de donde ſalimos para ir a los Hemes, ſubiendo el rio arriba al Norte diez leguas, llegamos al pueblo de los Picuries, que tendra dos mil almas ya bautizadas con ſu Conuento, y Igleſia, adonde ſon muy bien dotrinados, y enſeñados, ha ſido la gente mas indomita y traidora de aquel Reino, y han padecido con ella mucho algunos Religioſos, haſta llegar a ponerles las manos, y tratarlos mal, en odio de nueſtra ſanta Fè Catolica, de que reſul-

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ta tanto merito, y al Religioſo que actualmente tienen han querido matar algunas vezes, y milagroſamente le ha librado dellas nueſtro Señor, como es, ſaliendo a prenderle, y matar a los caminos, y cubrirſe de vn ſudor frio en ſu preſencia, y temblar de miedo: y otra vez al tiempo que entrauan a echarle mano, quedar inuiſible, y boluerſe confuſos, y oy, ſea Dios bendito, eſtan muy pacificos, y bien doctrinados; y aunque eſtos Indios ſon de nacion Teoas, por eſtar tan apartados della, ſuponen por ſi, es tierra muy fertil, que en breue da el fruto, y con mucha abundancia, muy buenas aguas de rios, y truchas en ellos, tambien tiene minas de muy finos granates, y no ay quiē ſe aplique a labrarlos.

Nacion Taos.

MAs adelante al miſmo Norte otras ſiete leguas, eſtà el pueblo de los Taos, de la miſma nacion que el antecedente, aunque algo varia la lengua, que tiene dos mil y quinientas almas bautizadas, con ſu Con

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uento, y Igleſia, que con mucho cuidado han fundado dos Religioſos, que han tenido a cargo ſu conuerſion; eſtan eſtos Indios muy bien dotrinados: y en el año paſſado de ſeiſcientos y veinte y ſiete confirmò el Señor ſu ſanta palabra, con vn milagro entre ellos; y * fue, que ſe les hazia dificultoſo el dexar de tener muchas mugeres, como lo vſauan antes de bautizados, y cada dia les predicaua el Religioſo la verdad del ſanto Sacramento del matrimonio, y quien mas cõtradezia eſto era vna India vieja hechizera, la qual a titulo de ir por leña al campo, ſacò a otras quatro mugeres buenas Chriſtianas, y caſadas, conforme el orden de nueſtra ſanta Madre Igleſia, y a ida y buelta las fue perſuadiendo a que no conſintieſſen con el modo de caſarſe que enſeñaua el Padre, que mejor era el que ſe vſaua en ſu gentilidad, a que ſiempre reſiſtieron las buenas Chriſtianas, y llegando ya cerca del pueblo, y la hechizera no dexando ſu ſermon, eſtando el cielo claro y ſereno, cayò vn rayo, y matò a aquella infernal miniſtra del demonio, en medio de las buenas Chriſtianas, que reſiſtian a ſu mala dotrina, y quedaron muy libres del rayo, y muy confirmadas en la verdad del Sacramento ſanto del matrimonio; acudio luego alli todo el pueblo, y viendo aquella aldauada del cielo, ſe caſaron todos los que eſtauan amancebados de ſecreto, y creîan muy de veras todo lo que el Padre les enſeñaua, el qual les hizo alli luego ſobre el caſo vn ſermon, y todos los dias de fieſta les predica, como en los demas Conuentos ſe haze; ſea la gloria a Dios nueſtro Señor: es tierra muy fria y abundantiſsima de baſtimentos y ganados.

Peñol de Acoma.

BOluiendo pues atras al pueſto de la nacion Queres, ſaliendo de ſu vltimo pueblo Santa-Ana, al Ocidente doze leguas, ſe llega al Peñol de Acoma, que tantas vidas de Eſpañoles, y Indios amigos ha coſtado, aſsi por ſer de peña tajada, y inexpugnable, como por la valentia de ſus habitadores, q̄ ſeran al pie de dos mil almas. Y el año paſſado de 29. fue Dios ſeruido, que los reduxeſſemo de paz, y tienen oy Religioſo que los eſtà catequizando, y bautizando, y ha confirmado el Señor con milagro la virtud deſte ſanto Sacramento del Bautiſmo; y fue, que eſtandoſe muriendo, ya en las vltimas boqueadas, vna criatura de vn año en los braços de ſu madre, que ya la lloraua por muerta, le dixo el Religioſo, que alli les eſtaua enſeñando, q̃ ſi tanto queria a ſu hija q̃ la dexaſſe bautizar, para que ſi ſe murieſſe fueſſe a gozar de la gloria eterna al cielo, y aunque la madre era Gẽtil, creyò al Padre, y le rogò, que ſe la bautizaſſe, a lo qual le dixo el Religioſo; pues hija ten fee, que poderoſa es eſta ſanta agua del Bautiſmo para reſucitar a tu hija, y echandoſela, diziendo las palabras, fue coſa marauilloſa, que inſtantaneamente ſe leuantò la niña buena, y ſana, y embiſtio con los pechos de la madre, y ſe boluia muy riſueña, y alagueña al padre, moſtrando por acciones, ya que era incapaz de hablar, el agradecimiento del bien que la auia hecho, con lo qual todos aquellos Indios quedaron muy confirmados en la Fè, y con deuocion ſe en ſeñauã a rezar a priſa para que los bautizaſſen: ſea Dios bendito por todo.

Nacion Cuñi.

PRoſiguiendo mas al Ocidente treinta leguas, ſe llega a la Prouincia de Cuñi, donde ay onze, ò doze pueblos en diſtrito de nueue o diez leguas, en que ay mas de diez mil almas conuertidas que ſe van catequizando, y bautizando con dos Conuentos y Igleſias, en que han paſſado, y paſſan los Religioſos que alli eſtan muchas dificultades, y trabajos, por la grande repugnancia que les hazen los hechizeros, y como Dios es ſobre todo, ſalen ſiempre con vitoria los Religioſos, y ha obrado alli nueſtro Señor muchas coſas particulares, que ſe veran en la informacion de todo lo ſobredicho, a que me remito; es tierra muy fertil de todo genero de baſtimentos.

Nacion Moquì.

PRoſiguiendo otras treinta leguas al miſmo Ocidente, ſe llega a la Prouincia de

Moqui, de la miſma cantidad que la antecedente Zuñi, con otras diez mil almas, que ſe quedan catequizando y bautizando, cuyo bautiſmo, y palabra diuina ha confirmado ✠ el Señor con el milagro ſiguiente. Es coſtumbre general entre todos los Indios infieles, recibir al principio muy bien al Religioſo en ſus pueblos, y reduzirſe luego al Bautiſmo, y viendo quando los catequizan, que han de dexar ſus idolatrias, y hechizerias, ſientenlo tanto los hechizeros, que inquietan a todos, y los diuierten, para que no ſean Chriſtianos; y no ſolo eſto, ſino que echen al Religioſo del pueblo, y ſino que le maten: aſsi ſucedio en el pueblo principal deſta Prouincia de Moqui, que recibieron muy bien al Padre que los fue a conuertir, y a ſus compañeros, y a vnos ſoldados que eſtauan alli de eſcolta con ellos, y viendo, que el Religioſo con vna Cruz original de la Madre Luiſa de Carrion, les obligaua, con viuas y eficazes razones, a la adoracion de vn Dios, y Señor, Criador de todas las coſas, y que por nueſtra Redencion auia muerto en vna Cruz como aquella, a la qual tenian obligacion tambien de adorar, y no a ſus idolos; con que el demonio los traia tan engañados, irritados deſto los hechizeros, y viendo que ſe les quitaua la juridicion, que, como miniſtros infernales, tenian ſobre aquellas almas, perſuadieron a toda la gente, que el Religioſo, y todos los que le acompañauan eran vnos embuſteros que los ivan a engañar, y que aſsi los mataſſen, y queriendolo poner por obra en algunas ocaſiones, no ſe atreuieron por la vigilancia de los ſoldados, y lo principal, por el amparo del cielo. Deſpues deſto vino vna tropa dellos, y traxeron a vn muchacho de doze a treze años, ciego a natiuitate, que nacio con los ojos pegados, ſin ſoſpecha de que pudieſſe ver, y dixeron al Religioſo eſtas palabras: Tu deues de ſer algun grande embuſtero, y aſsi ſi es verdad todo lo que dizes deſſo que llamas Cruz, ponſela en los ojos a eſte muchacho, y ſi el con eſſo los abriere, confeſſaremos que es verdad todo lo que nos predicas; pero ſi no, te avemos de matar, ò echarte con confuſion:

el Religioſo viſto eſto, con el afecto y deuocion que en ſemejante caſo ſe puede imaginar, ſe hincò de rodillas, y con la miſma Cruz en las manos, y los ojos en el cielo, pidio a la diuinina Mageſtad, que para cõfuſion de aquellos barbaros infieles, y para que adoraſſen ſu ſantiſsimo nombre, y Cruz, obraſſe alli con ✠ ella ſus marauillas, leuantoſe, y puſola con grandiſsima fee en los ojos del muchacho ciego, y luego en el miſmo inſtante los abrio, y començò a dar vozes, admirãdoſe de que via, con lo qual cogieron al muchacho en braços, y lo lleuaron por las calles, y plaças, pregonando a grandes vozes el milagro, y que todos fueſſen Chriſtianos, y ſe bautizaſſen, y hizieſſen lo que el Padre les enſeñaua, que era la verdad, y que ſus hechizeros eran vnos embuſteros que los traian engañados, y aſsi ſe ſugetaron luego a lo que el Padre y ſus compañeros les enſeñauan para bautizarſe, y les tenian muy grande amor y reſpeto: *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*; y aunque en todas las conuerſiones antecedentes ha obrado nueſtro Señor muchas marauillas, he eſcuſado referirlas aora, remitiendome a la hiſtoria general de aquella tierra, que con el fauor del cielo eſtoy haziendo, y ſolo he querido referir a V. Mageſtad los milagros dichos, por auerlos obrado nueſtro Señor todos en el año paſſado de veinte y nueue, deſpues que V.M. fue ſeruido proueer de mas Miniſtros.

Ritos deſta Gentilidad.

EStas ſon las poblaciones que tenemos por eſta parte, conuertidas y bautizadas, en lo que llamamos Nueuo-Mexico, que es deſde el primer pueblo de la Prouincia de los Piros, San Antonio Senecu, el rio del Norte arriba, haſta el pueblo de San Geronimo de los Taos, que eſtan en diſtrito de cien leguas, los quales pueblos eſtã a vn lado, y a otro del rio, y algunos dellos algo deſviados a ſiete y a ocho leguas por otros arroyuelos, todos los quales tendran al pie de ochenta mil almas. Toda eſta gente y naciones en ſu gentilidad eſtaua diuidida en dos parcialidades, guerreros, y hechizeros, procurando los guerreros reduzir a ſu imperio y mando, en opoſicion de los hechizeros toda la gente; y los hechizeros con la miſma opoſicion perſuadian a todos, a que ellos hazian llouer, y dar la tierra buenas ſementeras, y otras coſas de que mofauan los guerreros, por lo qual auia entre ellos continuas guerras ciuiles, tan grandes, que ſe matauan, y aſſolauan los pueblos enteros, en que el demonio tenia ſu ordinaria coſecha: ſu Religion, aunque no era idolatria formal, caſi lo era, porque para qualquiera accion ofrecian, como era al tiempo que ivan a pelear con ſus enemigos, ofrecian harina, y otras coſas a las cabelleras de los que auian muerto de la nacion enemiga. Si ivan a caſar, ofrecian harina a cabeças de venados, liebres, conejos, y otros animales muertos; ſi a peſcar ofrecian al rio. Las mugeres que querian que los hombres las apetecieſſen, ſalian al campo gordas, y buenas, y alçauan vna piedra, ò algun palillo ſobre algun cerrillo, y alli le ofrecian harina, y en ocho dias, ò los que podian, no comian, ſino coſa que las inquietaſſe los eſtomagos, y prouocaſſe a trocar, y ſe açotauan cruelmente, y quando ya no podian mas, y que de gordas ſe auian pueſto flacas, y figuras del demonio, ſe venian muy confiadas en que el primer hombre que las vieſſe, las apeteceria, y les daria mantas, q̃ es ſu principal fin; pero eſta adoracion a eſtos palos y piedras en nada es reuerencial; porque no ſe les da que los piſen, ni eſcupan, ſino que como ceremonia los ponen aſsi. Para hazer a vno Capitan ſe juntauan en vna plaça, y le amarrauan deſnudo en vn pilar, y con vnos abrojos crueles le açotauan todos, y deſpues le entretenian con entremeſes, y otros juguetes, y ſi a todo eſtaua muy ſeſgo, y no lloraua, ni hazia geſtos a lo vno, ni ſe reìa a lo otro, lo confirmauan por muy valiente Capitan; y a eſte modo los traìa el demonio engañados cõ mil ſuperſticiones. Siempre ha ſido gente de gouierno y republica, juntandoſe los viejos con el Capitan mayor, a conferir y dicernir las coſas que les conuenian, y deſpues de determinadas ſalia el Capitan mayor perſonalmente, pregonando por el pueblo lo que ſe mandaua, y eſta es aun oy accion de grande autoridad pregonar los Capitanes mayores lo que ſe ha de hazer en el pueblo.

Quan bien acuden a las coſas de la Chriſtiandad.

OY a honra y gloria de Dios nueſtro Señor, con el cuidado afable que cõ ellos auemos tenido los Religioſos, eſtan tan bien dotrinados y Chriſtianos, q̃ en tocando la campana a Miſſa, y a la dotrina, vienen todos con la mayor limpieza y aſſeo que pueden, y ſe entran en la Igleſia a rezar, como Chriſtianos mui antiguos, y los muchachos, y muchachas, q̃ a mañana y tarde vienen ſiẽpre a la dotrina, acuden con mui gran cuidado ſin faltar, y los cantores que a capillas ſe mudan por ſus ſemanas, cantan todos los dias en la Igleſia a ſus horas, Prima, Miſſa mayor, y Viſperas, con gran puntualidad, y todos ſe cõfieſſan en ſu lengua, y ſe preuienẽ para la confeſsiõ, eſtudiando ſus pecados, trayendolos ſeñalados en hilos añudados, y eſtan ſiempre con notable ſujecion, y aficion a los Religioſos que los adminiſtran, y apenas comiença vno a eſtar enfermo, quan do luego viene a ver al Religioſo, ò le embia a llamar, pareciendole que con ſolo verle ſanara, y ſi la enfermedad va a mas, ſe confieſſa para morir, ſiendo eſta la continua ocupacion de los Religioſos, curandoles ſus enfermedades, y ſupliendo todas ſus neceſsidades, y aſsi les tienen notable aficion, y a las coſas de la Igleſia, a q̃ acuden ſiempre con notable amor y deuocion, como lo teſtifican bien todas las Igleſias y Conuentos, que tienen hechos, los quales todos parecerà encarecimiento el dezir, que ſiendo tan ſuntuoſos y curioſos, los hā hecho tan ſolamēte las mugeres, y los muchachos, y muchachas de la dotrina; porque entre eſtas naciones ſe vſa hazer las mugeres las paredes, y los hombres hilan y texen ſus mantas, y van a la guerra, y a la caza, y ſi obligamos a algũ hombre ha hazer pared, ſe corre dello, y las mugeres ſe rien, y con eſto eſtan hechas mas de cincuenta Igleſias de techos mui curioſos grauados y laceria, y las paredes muy bien pintadas, porq̃ ay marauilloſas montañas de todo genero de maderas, y con el cuidado que auemos pueſto los Religioſos en enſeñar a los Indios de la dotrina, ay muy buenos oficiales de carpinteria, y de todos oficios, y aſsi eſtan oy tan bien induſtriados en todo, en particular en las coſas de la Fè, y Chriſtiandad, que cauſa admiracion el ver, que en menos de veinte años que ha que ſe començò el bautiſmo, y en particular de ocho años a eſta parte, adonde la coſecha de almas ha ſido mas abundante, parecen Chriſtianos de cien años; ſi vamos paſſando por los caminos, y ellos nos ven de ſus pueblos, ò ſementeras, ſalen todos à recibirnos con muy grande gozo, diziẽdo, loado ſea nueſtro Señor Ieſu Chriſto, loado ſea el ſantiſsimo Sacramento; y quando llegamos a ſus pueblos nos reciben con ramilletes, y nos regalan con peſcado, o con lo que tienen, y el Capitan del pueblo nos da la bien venida, y parabien, de que ſiendo Sacerdotes de Dios les honremos ſus pueblos, adõde viuian como ſaluages; y a eſte modo otras razones. Toda es gente que viſte de mantas de algodon, y pellejos, y a ſu modo procuran engalanarſe lo que pueden ellos, en particular, con gargantillas y oregeras de Turque-

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ſas, que tienen minas dellas, y las labran, aunque imperfetamente, y las mugeres ſe viſten honeſtamente con ſus mantas de algodõ pintadas y bordadas de lo miſmo.

Lo que deue aquel Reino a V. Mageſtad.

AViendo pues eſtado eſta tierra, y ſus habitadores, deſde que Dios los criò ſugetos al demonio, y eſclauos ſuyos haſta eſte tiẽpo, y todo poblado de eſtufas de idolatria, adõde jamas no ſolo no ſe adoraua el ſantiſsimo nombre de Ieſus, ſino que no le conocian, ni ſu ſantiſsima Cruz, y eſtar oy en tan breues años poblada toda la tierra de Igleſias, de peañas de Cruzes, y ſus moradores ſaludarſe a vozes, alabando al ſantiſsimo Sacramẽto del Altar, y al ſantiſsimo nõbre de Ieſu Chriſto, y en tocando la campana de las Aue Marias, ſe hincan de rodillas, adonde quiera que les coge la voz, y a gritos adoran a la Virgen ſantiſsima, rezando a vozes las tres Aue Marias acoſtumbradas, y lo miſmo quando oyen la plegaria de las animas, rezando vn Pater noſter, y Aue Maria, tierra adonde el demonio parece que corrompia los aires con ſu preſencia, y los hazia inhabitables, y oy tan trocados y apacibles, por lleuar por ellos deſcubierto el ſantiſsimo Sacramento en las proceſsiones, y que para hazer eſte trueque y mudança aya eſcogido Dios miniſtros tan pobres, como los hijos de mi Padre ſan Franciſco, parece, que *contemptibilia elegit Deus, vt confundat fortia*; aunque aqui clara y euidentemẽte ſe ve que Dios es autor, y primer mouil, de q̃ le damos infinitas gracias: ſe las deuemos tambien a V.M. pues ſin ſus Reales auxilios no pudieramos coſtear tantos gaſtos, y deue V.M. gloriarſe mucho de ſer cauſa de toda eſta mudança, y q̃ goza de todo el merecimiento de aquellas conuerſiones, adõde ſacamos tantas millaradas de almas de las vñas del demonio, coſa q̃ ſin milagro no pudiera ſer, y lo dexò Dios, y remitio a V. M. para que por medios tan Catolicos, y de ſus Reales gaſtos, gozaſſe de tantos teſoros eſpirituales y tẽporales, y a todos los Indios, como tan intereſſados les enſeñamos, ſiẽpre encomienden a Dios a V.M. pues con tantos gaſtos les embia, y ſuſtenta alli miniſtros y Igleſias para la ſaluaciõ de ſus almas, y lo hazẽ de ordinario, y noſotros los Religioſos, como tan aficionados, y obligados vaſſallos, y Capellanes, jamas dexamos, aſsi en las Miſſas, como en nueſtras particulares oraciones, de encomẽdar a Dios a V.M. en aquel tã remoto Reino ſuyo, y en aquella primitiua Igleſia, adonde nueſtro Señor obra tantas marauillas: en todo y por todo ſea la honra y gloria a Dios nueſtro Señor.

Fertilidad de la tierra.

TOda eſta tierra es fertiliſsima, que da cõ muy grande abundancia todo lo que en ella ſe ſiembra, maiz, trigo, frijoles, lantejas, garuanços, habas, aluerjoes, calabaças, ſandias, melones, pepinos, todo genero de verdura, coles, lechugas, zanahorias, cardos, ajos, cebollas, tunas, pitahayas, ciruelas mui buenas, aluarcoques, duraznos, nuezes, bellotas, moras, y otras muchas q̃ dexo por euitar proligidad; ſolo digo a parte los arboles de piñones, que ſon de diferente eſpecie de los de Eſpaña, porque ſon grandes, y tiernos de partir, y los arboles,y piñas chicas; y es tanta la cantidad, que parece inacauable,y de tanta eſtima,q̃ vale la fanega en Mexico a veinte y tres,y a veinte y quatro peſos, y los que lo bueluen a vender ganan en ellos, y tan fertil la tierra,que ſe ha viſto coger a ciento y veynte y a ciento y treinta fanegas, por fanega de ſembradura de trigo; y ha ſucedido coger muy buenas coſechas del raſtrojo del año antes, ſin auerle hecho mas beneficio que vn poco de riego.

Peſcado.

Tiene tambien muchos rios en que ay peſcado en grande abundancia,y grandes eſteros, y en particular el rio del Norte, que quando menos agua lleua, y le podemos vadear, llega a la ſilla, y quando va crecido es de rapida y grande corriente, con el agua que recibe de ſolas las nieues derretidas; y lo miſmo los demas riachuelos que ſe le comunican; todos los quales ſon muy abundantes de bagres, truchas, ſardinas, anguilas,

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agujas,matalotas, boquinetes, caſſones, y otros muchos.

Caza.

LA abundancia de caza parece infinita,ay venados de muchas eſpecies diferentes, y algunos como mulas grandes, y que tienen tambien la cola como mula, y otros tan grandes como eſtos, aunque la cola al modo de los demas venados, muy poblada de pelo,que parece traen ſobre la anca vna adarga, y ſon tan grandes y fuertes que el Maeſſe de Campo por grandeza traia ſu carroza con dos venados deſtos,que los amanſaron deſde chicos, y tirauan con tanto brio, q̃ era meneſter ponerle a los lados mulas muy manſas que los detuuieſſen.De los demas medianos ay muchiſsimos,de quo ſe ſuſtentan y viſten los Indios;porque de ſus pellejos hazen y adouan gamuzas tan buenas, que las vendẽ en Mexico a cinco y ſeis peſos. De conejos y liebres no ay numero, zorras,lobos, leones, gatos monteſes, y oſſos tambien muchiſsimos: ay vn genero de carneros monteſes muy grandes, de cuernos muy grueſos: y por vna pared, aunque ſea alta, y liſa, trepā de carrera, ò por vn peñaſco alto, como ſi fuera por vna eſcalera: y retozando, ò huyendo, ſe ſuelen arrojar de peñaſcos altiſsimos a baxo, cayendo ſiempre de cabeça, y ſe leuantan luego con toda preſteza, como ſi no huuieran hecho nada. Y de todos animales es muy abundante todo aquel Reyno, y aſsi ha propagado alli ya mucho nueſtro ganado, lleuado de la Nueua-Eſpaña, que alla no auia, como ſon, ganado vacuno, y ouejuno, que de ordinario paren las ouejas a tres corderitos: ganado de cerda: mulas, y famoſos cauallos, y en particular para las armas. Y es muy de ver quando los Indios hazen caça general, porque ſe juntan quatro, ò cinco mil, y van oxeando todos los cerros que quieren, y cercando de manera, que por todas partes tope la caça con gente quando huye, y van eſtrechando el cerco de manera, que en breue plaça tienen junta toda la caça, adonde ſe ven animales de todos generos: entran dentro del cerco los matadores, y los de fuera cercan, y todo lo

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que ſe mata ſe reparte por todos, aunque hazen ventajas a los Capitanes.

Rigor del Temple.

EL tẽple es por eſtremos, porq̃ el hivierno es muy riguroſo, y de tantas nieues, yelos, y frios, que todos los rios, eſteros, y haſta el rio del Norte, ſe yelan de manera, que por encima ſe paſſa con carros cargados, y a toda carrera muy grãdes partidas de ganado, como ſi fuera por tierra muy firme, y entõces paſſamos los Religioſos muy grande trabajo para paſſar eſtos rios a la adminiſtraciõ de los pueblos, porq̃ como los rios quedã elados, eſtã por encima como vn criſtal eſpejado y reſualadizo, que a cauallo, y a pie ſe dan muy grandes caidas; y como el remedio deſto es, echar tierra por encima para que peguẽ y afirmen los pies, no la hallamos, que toda eſtâ tan elada, que para hazer vna ſepultura en la Igleſia, ſe haze primero fuego encima, que la deſyele, y con barretas no ſe puede abrir· y baſte dezir, que quando eſtamos diziendo Miſſa, tenemos dos braſeros a los lados del Caliz, y con todo eſto, y el calor de mucha gente que ay en la Igleſia, ſe nos yela el vino, y aſsi todos los inuiernos ſe yelan muchos Indios en el campo, y a muchos Eſpañoles ſe les yelan las orejas, pies, y manos; y por el contrario, el verano es mas intolerable el calor, que el frio en el iuierno: y aſsi parece, que algunas vezes falta de todo punto el aliento, en vnas Prouincias mas que en otras.

Grandioſa nacion Apache.

CON lo dicho baſtarà para que ſe entienda lo natural de los pueblos del Nueuo-Mexico, que eſtan a orillas del rio del Norte, en diſtrito de cien leguas por vna y otra banda, los quales todos eſtan cercados por todas partes de la grandioſa nacion Apache, y ſin encarecimiento ella ſola tiene mas gente que todas las naciones juntas de Nueua-Eſpaña, aunque entre la Mexicana: es gente muy brioſa y belicoſa, y muy ardidoſa en la guerra, haſta en el modo de hablar hazen diferencia de las demas naciones; porque eſtas hablan quedito y a eſpacio, y los Apaches parece que deſcalabran con la palabra, no viuen en poblados, ni en caſas, ſino en tiendas, y rancherias, por lo que ſe mudan de ſerrania en ſerrania, buſcando caça, que es ſu ſuſtento, aunque cada rancheria de principal y proprio ſe tiene ſu territorio conocido, en que ſiembran maiz y otras ſemillas, andan veſtidos de gamuzas, que ſon los pellejos de benados, muy bien adouados y galanos a ſu modo, y las mugeres galana, y honeſtamente veſtidas: no tienen mas idolatria que la del Sol, y aun no es general en todos, y ſe rien mucho de las demas naciones que tienen idolos: vſan tener las mugeres que pueden ſuſtentar, y la que cogen en adulterio, irremiſsiblemente le executan la ley, q̃ es cortarle las orejas y las narizes, y la repudian; ſon muy obedientes a ſus mayores, y les tienen grande reſpeto, enſeñan, y caſtigan a ſus hijos, a diferencia de las otras naciones que no tienen caſtigo alguno; precianſe mucho de hablar verdad, y ſe tiene por afrentado el que cogen en mentira, y aunque por ſer vna nació es toda vna lengua, como eſtà tan dilatada, no dexa de variar algo por algunas rancherias, pero no coſa que no ſe entienda muy bien: y començando deſde el principio della, quando vamos al nueuo Mexico, que es la Prouincia de los Apaches del Perrillo, corre por eſta parte al Occidente haſta la mar del Sur, adonde ay mas de treciẽtas leguas, y va continuando al Norte, ſin que por alli le ayamos hallado fin, y ſe topa en el eſtrecho de Anian; y haziendo con eſta naciõ el cerco al nueuo Mexico por la banda del Oriẽte, ſe enſancha mas de cien leguas, haſta boluer à topar con la Prouincia del Perrillo, haziendo en eſto mas de trecientas leguas de circunferencia al nueuo Mexico en ſus frõteras. Es nacion tan belicoſa toda ella, q̃ ha ſido el criſol del esfuerço de los Eſpañoles, y por eſto los eſtiman mucho, y dizẽ, Que ſolos los Eſpañoles merecen el titulo de gente, y no las naciones de los Indios poblados.

Principio de la conuerſion de los Apaches.

DI principio a la conuerſion deſta nacion Apache por la banda del Norte, en las

Rancherias del Capitan Quinîa,bien conocido por ſer tan belicoſo,plantando en ellas las primeras Cruzes,y continuãdola vn Religioſo, ſe reuelaron deſpues de auerſe bautizado el Capitan,y ſu muger,y hijos,y quiſierõ matar al Padre que los eſtaua catequizando;y teniendole ya apuntadas las flechas, no ſe atreuieron à hazerlo, y ſe huyeron de la Rancheria,y dexaron al Padre ſolo, cõ que por aquella vez los dexò,y ſe bueluen a reduzir de paz: que ſiempre a los principios ſucede eſto en las conuerſiones.

Conuerſion de los Apaches de Xila, y Geroglifico notable de vn Capitan Apache.

BOluiendo pues al principio deſta nacion Apache,por lo mas cercano a la Prouincia del Perrillo, eſtà la de los Apaches de Xila catorze leguas del pueblo de ſan Antonio de Senecu de la Prouincia de los Piros; fue N.S. ſeruido q̃ ſe conuirtieſſe el Capitã mayor della llamado Sanaba,por auerme oido predicar

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muchas vezes en Senecu, adonde el acudia de ordinario, y el propio predicaua a los de ſus rancherias, y aſsi ſe conuirtio toda la en que viuia, y poco a poco va conuirtiendo a las otras, que le eſtan ſugetas, y oy tenemos alli ya Religioſo que los va catequizando, y poblando.

No puedo dexar de dezir en eſta ocaſion dos caſos particulares, que en eſta conuerſion me ſucedieron, en que V. Mageſtad echarà de ver lo que alli ſe paſſa. El vno fue, que yendo yo a eſte pueblo de Xila, para catequizarles, ſupolo ſu Capitan Sanaba, y vino catorze leguas al pueblo de San Antonio de Senecu a recibirme, y deſpues de auerle regalado con lo que pude, mandò a vn criado que deſliaſſe vn liachuelo que traîa, y ſacò del vna gamuza doblada, que es vn pellejo de benado adouado, y preſentòmela, y ignorando yo lo que dentro eſtaua, perſuadido a que ſimplemente me la preſentaua, le dixe, que ya ſabia el como yo no queria que me dieſſen nada, que lo que dellos ſolamente deſeaua, era que de todo ſu coraçon adoraſſen al Señor del cielo, y tierra, ſonriendoſe, me dixo, Que deſdoblaſſe la gamuça, y vieſſe lo que tenia dentro: hizelo aſsi, y vide en ella, que era muy blanca, y grande, y pintado en medio della vn Sol de color verde, con vna Cruz encima, y abaxo del Sol pintada la Luna de color pardo, con otra Cruz encima: y aunque ſe me trasluzio algo de lo que me queria dezir, le preguntè, que ſignificaua aquella pintura, dixo aſsi: Padre, haſta aora no auiamos conocido otro bienhechor tan grande como el Sol, y la Luna, porque el Sol nos calienta y alumbra de dia, y nos cria las plantas, y la Luna nos alumbra de noche; y aſsi adorauamos a eſtos dos, como a quien tanto bien nos hazia, y no ſabiamos que auia otra coſa mejor: pero agora que nos has enſeñado, que Dios es el Señor, y criador del Sol, y de la Luna, y de todas las coſas, y que la Cruz es ſeñal de Dios, he mandado pintar la Cruz ſobre el Sol, y ſobre la Luna, para que entiendas, que hazemos lo que nos enſeñas; y no ſe nos oluida, que ſobre todo adoramos a Dios, y a ſu Cruz ſanta. Sea Dios bendito, y alabado por todo. El que ha tratado de conuerſiones, ſabe ſolo el gozo eſpiritual que vn Religioſo recibe quando en ſemejantes ocaſiones vè logrado el fruto de ſus trabajos, y dà por bien empleados los rieſgos que en la conuerſion ha paſſado: y aſsimiſmo ſe conocerà muy bien el natural talento que Dios ha dado à eſta nacion tan diſcurſiuo, pues no ſé yo que mejores razones pudieran dar los Filoſofos naturales antiguos, que eſte Indio barbaro en nueſtra opinion, para perſuadirſe a la adoracion de nueſtro verdadero, y vniuerſal Criador, Redentor, y Señor.

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Conuerſion de los Apaches de Nauajò.

SAliēdo pues deſta Prouincia de los Apaches de Xila, y paſſando adelante por el miſmo rumbo, que es por la banda del Occi-

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dente de los poblados,coſteandolos al Norte mas de cincuenta leguas,llenas de rancherias de la juriſdicion de Xila,ſe topa cõ la Prouincia de los Apaches de Nauajò, que aũque ſon de la miſma naciõ Apache que la antecedente, eſtàn ſugetos,y ſubordinados a otro Capitan mayor, y tienen diſtinto modo de viuir, porque los de atras no ſembrauan,ſino que ſe ſuſtentauã de caça; y oy les auemos rompido tierras, y enſeñado à ſembrar: y eſtos de Nauajò ſon muy grandes labradores,q̃ eſſo ſignifica Nauajò,ſementeras grandes. Es eſta Prouincia la mas belicoſa de toda la nacion Apache, y adõde los Eſpañoles hã moſtrado bien ſu valor. Eſta cordillera corre otras cincuenta ò ſeſenta leguas,las quales eſtàn llenas de minerales de piedra lumbre. Y como todas eſtas naciones pobladas, y Chriſtianas ſon inclinadas a la pintura, para auer de pintar ſus veſtidos neceſsitan de piedra lumbre,que ſolamẽte la ay en aquellas ſerranias,y para ir por ella ſe juntan dos ò tres mil Indios, a los quales ſalen à recebir de guerra los dichos Apaches de Nauajò, en defenſa de ſu tierra, y ſobre el caſo ay muchiſsimas muertes, ſino es que llegan en ocaſion que los Apaches ſe han remõtado a otras ſerranias a caçar; y deſpues que ſaben que les han ido a quitar la piedra lũbre, ſe juntan muy de propoſito, y vienen à hazer guerra a los Chriſtianos, en venganca de que han entrado en ſus tierras; y la gente es tãta, que en dos dias ſe juntan mas de treinta mil Indios de arco y flecha: y eſte es muy pequeño encarecimiento, porque algunas vezes que alli han ido a pelear los Eſpañoles, en caſtigo de los muchos Indios Chriſtianos que matan, aunque les dauan aluaço, y cogian deſcuidados, ſiempre hallauan los campos quaxados de gente, ſin numero. Tienen ſu modo de viuienda debaxo de tierra, y cierto modo de xacales para recoger ſus ſementeras, y ſiempre habitan en aquel pueſto. Y agora por el mes de Setiembre del año paſſado de 629. fue nueſtro Señor ſeruido que los pacifiquè, para cuyo efeto fundè vn Conuento y Igleſia en el pueblo de ſanta Clara de la nacion Teoas, Chriſtianos, que eran vezinos en frontera, y recebian muchos daños deſtos Apaches,y deſeaua yo mucho hazer las pazes entre ellos,que de aì reſultaria tambien ſu conuerſiõ,como reſultò ; y porque fue particular el ſuceſſo della , y quizas guſtarà V.M. ſaber el modo como ſe hizo,fue aſsi.

EL mes de Setiembre del año paſſado de 1629.aſsiſtiendo en el Conuento de ſanta Clara ſobredicho , en el pueblo llamado Capoo,que fue el vltimo,y dezimo,que a hõra y gloria de Dios nueſtro Señor fundè en aquellas conuerſiones, adonde mas de ordinario acudian eſtos Apaches de Nauajò a hazer daños;y viſto que no podia coger a ninguno, para regalarle,y embiarle otra vez a ſu tierra, y dixeſſe a ſus Capitanes , que trataſſemos de las pazes,me auenturè,y determinè a embiarles doze Indios de los mios Chriſtianos , hõbres de talento, y animoſos , para lo qual llamè a los Capitanes, y viejos del pueblo , y les comuniquè el deſeo que tenia de que aquellas pazes ſe hizieſſen . aſsi para atajar tantas muertes, como para que ſe trataſſen, y comunicaſſen en ſus grangerias , y lo principal, que por eſte camino conſiguiriamos ſu conuerſiõ, que era mi principal fin. Todos fueron deſte parecer, y nombrando a vno de los doze por Capitan, por ſer Indio de mas talento, le dieron la embaxada de la paz a ſu vſança, que fue vna flecha, y en lugar de pedernal vna pluma de colores, y vn cañuto lleno de tabaco, començado a chupar, con otra pluma, que ſeñalaua en el lo que auian ellos chupado. Pues la flecha era, para que llegando a viſta de la Rācheria, y acercandoſe, tiraſſe aquella flecha māſa, en ſeñal de paz, y el cañuto para que los brindaſſe a chupar, y corrieſſe la tierra adētro eſta palabra, y paz. Yo tambien le di mi palabra de paz, que fue vn Roſario para el Capitā, y que deſeaua verme con el para tratarle eſtas pazes; y para que eſto tuuieſſe el buen efeto q̄ tuuo, acertò a ſer la viſpera de las LLAGAS de nueſtro Padre ſan FRANCISCO, que ſon a 17. de Setiembre del año paſſado de 629. y aſsi les dixe, que vinieſſen a oir Miſſa al otro dia, adonde concurrio toda la gente, pidiendo a Dios el buen ſuceſſo, y a nueſtro Padre ſan Franciſco fueſſe patron del, y aſsi le dediquè luego aquella conuerſion, y Prouincia. Oida pues la Miſſa, que ſe cantò cõ toda ſolenidad, ſalieron eſtos Indios con muy grande animo, y eſpiritu, y auiendome pedido la bendicion, començaron ſu camino deſde la miſma Igleſia. Sabe Dios las apreturas en que eſtaua mi coraçon, viendo el rieſgo tan manifieſto en q̃ yo ponia a aquellos Indios: que quando ſe ſale mal de vna empreſa, nunca faltan emulos que la juzgan por temeraria; y ſi ſucede bien, pocos la engrandezẽ: pero ſiempre tuue muy entera fe en Dios nueſtro Señor, que los auia de guardar de ſus enemigos.

LLegados pues a viſta de la primera Rancheria, frontera de aquella nacion indomita y feroz, adonde eſtaua el Capitan mayor de todas aquellas fronteras, y el mas esforçado, primo del Cazique, que los gouernaua a todos, que vino alli ſolo à hazer gẽte para hazer a los Chriſtianos vn daño notable: tiraron la flecha que lleuauan ſeñalada, que viſta por el enemigo, les reſpondio con otra de la miſma ſuerte; con lo qual ſe fueron acercando, aũque con eſpacio, y rezelo: llegados, diole ſu embaxada nueſtro Capitan, y le brindò con el cañuto del tabaco, y aſsi recibio tambien mi Roſario, y dio ſu embaxada de parte de ſus Capitanes, y de la mia; y como nunca auia viſto Roſario, preguntò, que ſignificaua tener aquel hilo tantos granos. Reſpondiole nueſtro embaxador inopinadamente, aunque con ſutileza, Que como ellos eran muchos Capitanes, les embiaua alli el Padre a cada vno ſu palabra de que ſeria ſu amigo. Reſpueſta que le ſatisfizo mucho. A lo qual reſpondio el Capitan, dando vn muy grande ſuſpiro, Que le peſaua mucho de que huuieſſen venido a ofrecerle la paz, que por ſer coſa tan buena, y traerſela a ſu caſa, no podia dexar de recebirla: pero que el eſtaua muy ofendido de los Chriſtianos, y que en eſta ocaſion tenia diſpueſtas las coſas de manera que ſe auia de vengar muy bien: pero que el recebia la paz, y la queria, y aſsi embiò luego la flecha a ſu Cazique, y el cañuto del tabaco, y ſe quedò con mi Roſario al cuello: y rezeloſo de que eſto tuuieſſe algun trato doble, dixo a los nueſtros, Que aunque el daua la paz en nombre de todos,

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que queria ſaber de mi, y de todos los Capitanes Chriſtianos perſonalmente, ſi era verdad, que ſe la dauamos, y que aſsi queria venir à vernos a nueſtro pueblo.

FVi auiſado dello por vno de los nueſtros que vino por la poſta, y hize que le ſalieſſen a recebir mas de mil y quinientas almas: yo le eſperè en la Igleſia, la qual mandè componer bien, y encender muchas luzes, porque ya era de noche quando llegaron; y porque eſta nacion es ſoberuia, y brioſa, me parecio recebir a eſte Capitan, y a los que con el venian con diferente modo que a las demas naciones, que en el ſuelo nos ſentamos cõ ellos a los principios, conformandonos con ſu llaneza, haſta que los enſeñamos mas policia. Pues ſiendo la nacion Apache tan ſoberuia, me parecio mudar eſtilo, y aſsi junto al Altar mandè poner vna ſilla ſobre vn tapete, y ſentado en ella le recebi. Venia delante del todo el pueblo, y entre los Capitanes Chriſtianos venia eſte Capitan Apache, y otros quatro Capitanes de los ſuyos. Entrados en la Igleſia, y hecha oracion al Altar, ſe vino a mi el

Capitan mayor de los Chriſtianos,y me besò los pies:coſa que no repugnè mucho, ni tampoco la tenia preuenida, y à ſu exẽplo, y imitacion hizieron lo propio los eſtrangeros: y deſpues de auerme ſaludado,dixo el mayor, q̃ aquellos Capitanes le auian ido a ofrecer la paz de mi parte,y de ſus Capitanes,y que el lo venia a ſaber perſonalmente para mayor ſeguridad. Luego ſe leuantò el Capitan mayor del pueblo, y le ofrecio al Apache ſu propio arco y flechas, diziendo, que alli delante de Dios,que eſtaua en aquel Altar, y de mi, que era Sacerdote ſuyo,le daua aquellas armas en fe de ſu palabra,que jamas faltaria con la paz, y aſsi las puſo en el Altar; y para que echaſſe de ver,que todos deziã lo miſmo,dixo al pueblo, ſi todos conſentian en ello, y dando vn grande alarido,reſpondieron, Que ſi. Luego el Capitan Apache eſcogio de ſu carcax vna flecha,a ſu parecer,la mas a propoſito, de pedernal blanco,y bien agudo, y delante de todos, en voz alta dixo aſsi. Yo no ſè quien es eſſe que dezis Dios, pero pues le poneis por teſtigo,y firmeza de vueſtra palabra, en fe de que no la aueis de quebrantar ſin falta, deue ſer alguna perſona de grande poder, y autoridad,y buena; y aſsi a eſſe Dios, quienquiera q̃ ſea,doy tambien mi palabra, y fe, en nombre de todos los mios, con eſta flecha en manos deſte Padre, y q̃ por mi parte, ni de los mios, jamas faltarà la paz,y amiſtad. Y recibiẽdo del la flecha, le dixe, Que ſi queria que le dixeſſe quien era Dios, guſtaria de oirme, y mucho mas de auerle dado la palabra. Y diziendome, Que ſi, le manifeſtè con las mas breues palabras,a ſu modo,quien era Dios,Criador,y Señor de todo lo criado, y que por librarnos de las penas eternas, auia muerto en vna Cruz, moſtrandoſelo todo por pintura en el Altar,y que el que no le adoraſſe, y ſe bautizaſſe, ſe auia de condenar,y ir à arder a aquellas penas eternas. Y como la palabra de Dios es tan eficaz,obrò tanto en ſu coraçon, q̃ con vn grandioſo eſpiritu,y ſuſpiro,ſe boluio a todo el pueblo,y con voz muy alta les dixo: A Teoas, y que embidia os tengo, que teneis aqui quien os enſeña quien es Dios, y coſas tan buenas,y no noſotros,que viuimos, y morimos andando por eſſos campos,y ſerranias, como venados,y liebres. Deſde luego digo,que adoro a eſte Dios,que dize eſte Padre ; y agora que le conozco,doy la paz,y mi palabra, de guardarla con mayor fuerça : y con lagrimas de ſus ojos ſe hincò de rodillas a beſarme los pies, a lo qual yo le leuantè,y abracè cō todo el agaſajo que pude, y luego le fueron abraçãdo todos los Capitanes Chriſtianos , y a eſta ſazon hize repicar las campanas , tañer las trompetas , y chirimias ; coſa que guſtò el mucho de oir,por ſer la primera vez. Y yo colguè luego alli aquellas flechas en el Altar,como trofeos de la diuina palabra, aunque por Miniſtro tan humilde como yo,y aſsi ſe lo manifeſtè al pueblo, para que por todo dieſſen gracias a la diuina Mageſtad,con lo qual lleuaron los Capitanes Chriſtianos a los hueſpedes a hoſpedar a ſus caſas,y yo les regalè con lo que pude.

AL otro dia de mañana , como era Sabado , repicando a la Miſſa de N.Señora, adonde concurre todo el pueblo,vino tambiē eſte Capitan Apache con los demas Chriſtianos,y con los ſuyos , y ſabiēdo que yo me llamaua Alonſo, dixo, que le dieſſe licencia para llamarſe aſsi. Yo le dixe, Que aſsi ſe llamaria quando ſe bautizaſſe, aunq̃ deſde luego le llamauan todos don Alonſo. Veſtime para començar la Miſſa con los mejores ornamẽtos que auia; y el eſtaua admirado de ver la deuocion con que toda la gente eſtaua de rodillas rezando. Antes de començar la Miſſa casè a vnos Indios; y como ellos tienẽ las mugeres que puedẽ ſuſtentar, le parecio muy bien, q̃ los Chriſtianos no tuuieſſen mas de vna, y q̃ prometian guardarſe fidelidad delante de Dios. Pues como yo queria començar la Miſſa, y el aũ no era bautizado, dixele, q̃ haſta q̃ lo fueſſe no podia ver à Dios en là Miſſa, q̃ ſe ſalieſſe a paſear cõ los ſuyos miẽtras la dezia. A lo qual reſpondio, Que el ſe tenia ya por Chriſtiano, y adoraua a Dios mas que todos quãtos alli eſtauan, con todo ſu coraçon; y q̃ aſsi le queria ver tanbiẽ. Y replicando yo, q̃ no podia haſtà eſtar bautizado, mãdò a ſus compañeros, que ſe ſalieſſen, pero que el en ninguna de las maneras auia de ſalir. Yo por diuertirle, mandè a los Cantores que cantaſſen la Salue de canto de organo,con toda la ſolenidad,y con trompetas,y chirimias , y aſsi reueſtido en el Altar cantè la oraciō, y acabada me ſentè en la ſilla, y le bolui a dezir algunas palabras acerca del miſterio de la Creacion y Redencion , cō que quedaua cada vez mas confirmado en la Fe.

AVianſe juntado a oir Miſſa algunos ſoldados Eſpañoles, y dixo,q̄ la miſma paz que auia aſſentado con los Teoas, queria tābien eſtablecer con los Eſpañoles ; y aſsi a vn Capitā Eſpañol que alli eſtaua , le dio vna flecha por mi mano , en ſeñal de palabra de que no faltaria con la paz; y nueſtro Eſpañol,ſacādo la eſpada de la vaina, me la dio tambiē delante del Indio,en fe de que le daua la paz , en nombre de Dios,y recebia la ſuya; y todo,como antes, ſe puſo en el Altar , ofreciendolo a Dios como juez,y teſtigo de aquella accion,q̄ aſsimiſmo ſe celebrò ſegunda vez cō campanas,trompetas, y chirimias ; con lo qual quedò el muy conſolado , diziendo , Que bien ſe echaua de ver la verdad de nueſtra ſanta Fè Catolica , pues ſe celebraua con tanta ſolenidad,y que ellos viuian como animales brutos del cāpo Y con eſto le embiè cō algunos Capitanes Chriſtianos a ſu caſa,y dixe la Miſſa al pueblo, de q̄ el ſe daua deſpues por muy ofendido,q̄ quiſiera auer viſto a Dios en la Miſſa.

EStuuoſe alli el, y los ſuyos, tres, ò quatro dias, oyendo con deuocion, y amor las coſas de nueſtra ſanta Fê Catolica,atendiēdo, y notādo el guſto con q̄ viuiā los Chriſtianos, y en particular ſe les auia aſſentado muy en el alma el miedo de las penas del infierno,y que en todo caſo querian ſer Chriſtianos,y q̄ ellos querian mucho a ſus mugeres y hijos, y a los de ſu nacion, y les peſaria mucho de que fueſſen al infierno por no ſer Chriſtianos; por lo qual me rogauan mucho, q̄ fueſſe a ſus Rancherias,ſiquiera por diez dias, a dezir a los ſuyos lo q̄ alli me auiā oido,q̄ eran coſas tā marauilloſas,q̄ ni el acertaria a dezirlas,ni los ſuyos las creerian por dezirſelas el. Al fin ſe fue para boluer de alli a Luna y media (q̄ ellos cuētan por Lunas:) y para confirmar eſtas pazes queria traer a todas las mugeres,y chiquillos de aquellas Rancherias comarcanas,con muchas gamuzas, y piedra alumbre, para hazer vna grande feria,que duraſſe tres dias,y ſe cobraſſen grande amiſtad. Y deſde luego aſſegurò, que entraſſen a caçar, y a lo que quiſieſſen por ſu tierra, que como muy amigos ſe tratarian; y aſsi fue,que de antes à quarto de legua ſe paſſaua por alli cõ mucho rieſgo, y cada dia matauan Chriſtianos, y deſde eſta paz ſalian haſta las viejas por leña por aquella parte, y ſi encontrauã Apaches,les hazian muy buẽ paſſaje,y repartian de la caça q̃ auian caçado. Eſta conuerſion,y pacificacion va proſiguiendo vn Religioſo de muy grãde eſpiritu, q̃ la harà cõ muchas mas vẽtajas q̃ yo. Tẽdra eſta Prouincia por la frõtera mas de 50. leguas: pero dilataſe al Occidẽte mas de 300. y no ſabemos adõde ſe acaba: y es eſta Prouincia la q̃ mas pena y cuidado â dado al nueuo Mexico,aſsi por ſer tã belicoſos, y valiẽtes, como por auer en ella mas de dociẽtas mil almas, por las vezes q̃ los han viſto los Eſpañoles yendo a pelear.

Apaches Vaqueros del ganado de Sibola.

PAſſada pues eſta Prouincia de los Apaches de Nauajò, boluiendo ya ſobre mano derecha al Oriente,ſe comiença la Prouincia de los Apaches Vaqueros,la qual corre por aq̃lla parte,y buelue cercando a los poblados mas de 150.leguas,haſta llegar a los del Perrillo,adonde comẽçamos al entrar en el nueuo Mexico. Toda eſta naciõ y Prouincia ſe ſuſtẽta de vacas que dizen de Sibola, ſemejante al nueſtro en la grandeza pero muy diferente en la forma,porq̃ es muy corto de piernas,como derrengado , y muy alto de corcoua y pecho, cuernos muy pequeños,y agudos , derechos a lo alto. muy grandes crines en el copete,q̃ les tapa la viſta,y muy creſpas , y lò miſmo en las barbas y en las rodillas , y todos de vn color hoſco , ò negro , y por marauilla ſe vè alguno cõ alguna mancha blanca: ſu carne es mas ſabroſa, y ſana q̃ la de nueſtras vacas , y la manteca mucho mejor: no bramã como nueſtros toros,ſino gruñen como puercos: no ſon largos de cola,ſino pequeña, y poca lana en ella: el pelo no es como el de nueſtro ganado,ſino creſpo como vellon muy fino , de que ſe hazẽ xerguetas muy buenas,y de las nueuas muy finos ſombreros de vicuña , al parecer de los pellejos de las terneras,ſe aforrã ropas,como ſi fuerã de martas.He dicho tã a lo largo deſte ganado,por ſer en tã gran numero, y tan dilatado,q̃ no le hallamos fin;y tener noticia que corre de la mar del Sur, haſta la mar del Norte,y tanto q̃ eſpeſa los cãpos. Eſte ganado ſolo era baſtante a hazer a vn Principe muy poderoſo, ſi pudiera auer, ò ſe diera traça cõ que ſe ſacara a otras partes: tropas ay de mas de quarenta mil toros, al parecer, ſin q̃ aya entre ellos vna ſola vaca,porq̃ ſiempre andan apartados haſta el tiẽpo del zelo: no es ganado q̃ ſe dexa coger en rodeos, aũque para pie lleuẽ entre ellos de nueſtro ganado manſo; y aſsi al tiẽpo de la paricion vã los Eſpañoles a coger las terneritas,y las criã cõ cabras. Como eſte ganado es tãto,y pellejã,ò mudã el pelo todos los años,quedaſe aquella lana por el campo,y los aires la vã arrimando a arboles,ò en algunas quebradas,y en tãta cantidad que pudiera hazer ricos a muchos,y todo ſe pierde.

DEſte ganado pues ſe ſuſtentan todos eſtos Apaches Vaqueros,para lo qual vã con cautela a ſus abreuaderos, y en las veredas ſe eſconden, embixados, y teñidos con el lodo de aquella miſma tierra,y tẽdidos en las veredas hondas que tiene hechas el ganado, al paſſar van empleando las flechas q̃ lleuan,y como es ganado triſte, aunq̃ muy feroz y veloz,en ſintiendoſe herido,a pocos paſos ſe dexa caer,y deſpues los deſuellan,y lleuan el pellejo,las lenguas, y lomos, y los neruios para cozer,y hazer cuerdas àlos arcos: los pellejos adouan en dos maneras, vnos dexandoles el pelo, y quedã como vn terciopelo de felpa, y ſiruen de cama,y de capa en el Verano: otros adouan ſin pelo,y los adelgaçã,de q̃ hazen ſus tiendas,y otras coſas a ſu vſança;y con eſta corambre tratã en toda la tierra, y ganã ſu vida, y es el general veſtuario,aſsi entre Indios,como Eſpañoles, q̃ vſan dello, aſsi para veſtuario,como para ſeruicio de coſtales, tiẽdas,coraças,calçado,y todo lo que ſe ofrece. Y aunq̃ cada año ſe mata tanto ganado,no ſolo no va a menos, ſino que cada dia es mas,porque eſpeſa los cãpos,y parece inacabable. Salẽ pues eſtos Indios por las Prouincias comarcanas a tratar,y contratar con eſta corambre, adonde no podrè dexar de dezir vna coſa,algo increible,aunque ridicula,y es, que quãdo eſtos Indios van a tratar,y contratar, van las rancherias enteras con ſus mugeres y hijos, que viuen en tiendas hechas deſtos pellejos de Sibola muy delgados,y adouados; y las tiendas las lleuan cargadas en requas de perros aparejados cõ ſus enxalmillas, y ſon los perros medianos, y ſuelẽ lleuar quiniẽtos perros en vna requa,vno delante de otro, y la gente lleua cargada ſu mercaduria, que trueca por ropa de algodon,y por otras coſas de q̃ carecen.

ESta Prouincia de los Apaches Vaqueros, cerca (como dicho es) las poblaciones del nueuo Mexico por ſu frõtera mas de 150. leguas, por la parte del Oriente, y ſe eſtiende al miſmo rumbo mas de ciento,toda ella pobladiſsima de rancherias de las tiendas ſobredichas,y gente infinita: ha ſido nueſtro Señor ſeruido de que ſe aya començado ſu conuerſion, y pacificacion cõ el buen trato y agaſajo que los Religioſos les hazen en las dottrinas ſus circunuezinas: y auiendo ſus Capitanes mayores oido dezir, que los Eſpañoles en la

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villa de Santa Fè tenian a la Madre de Dios, que era vna Imagen de vulto del Tranſito de la Virgen nueſtra Señora, que yo alli auia lleuado, y eſtaua bien adornada en vna Capilla: vinieron a verla, y le quedaron muy aficionados, y le prometieron ſer Chriſtianos, y en particular el mayor dellos le hablò con mucha deuocion, a ſu modo. Pues viendo el demonio que por eſte camino ſe le quitaua el imperio que gozaua, vsò de vn embuſte de los q̃ ſuele para ſu defenſa, tomando por medio la codicia de nueſtro Gouernador Eſpañol, que para hazer eſclauos q̃ embiar a vender a la Nueua-Eſpaña, embiò a vn Capitan Indio valiente, enemigo de aquella parcialidad, y le traxeſſe las pieças que pudieſſe. Acertò a ir eſte infernal miniſtro a la rancheria del Capitan mayor que auia dado la palabra a la Virgen de ſer Chriſtiano, con todos los ſuyos, y peleò cõ el, y lo matò, y a mucha gente; porque lleuaua muchos Indios de guerra conſigo; y teniendo aquel Capitan muerto al cuello vn Roſario, que yo le auia dado, ſe lo ponia por delante, rogandole, por el, y por aquella Madre de

Dios, que no le mataſſe; y no baſtò para que el tirano dexaſſe de vſar de ſu crueldad, y traxo algunos cautiuos al Gouernador: que aunque no los quiſo recebir, por el alboroto que causò el hecho, y quiſo ahorcar al que auia embiado, ſe conocio bien ſu codicia; lo qual fue cauſa para que toda eſta Prouincia ſe alçaſſe, aunque (ſea Dios biendito) la vamos reduziendo de nueuo, y conocen ya los Indios quien tiene la culpa, y que Dios deue ſer adorado ſobre todo.

CON lo ſobredicho, me parece, ſe conocerà eſta nacion Apache, la qual (como dicho es) cerca las cien leguas, que a orillas del rio del Norte habitā las poblaciones del nueuo Mexico, que ſon, Teoas, Tanos, Hemes, Tioas, Piros, Tompiras, y Queres. Y por la banda de fuera, al Oriente, y Poniente, y al Norte, y al Sur, ſe dilata por partes tanto que no le hallamos fin. El templē es como el que auemos referido de nueſtras poblaciones Chriſtianas, por eſtremo frio en el hivierno, y por eſtremo caliente en el verano. Las diligencias poſsibles para ſu conuerſion ſe hazen, Dios ſabe quando ſe llegarà ſu hora.

Conuerſion milagroſa de la nacion Xumana.

DExando pues toda eſta parte Occidental, y ſaliendo de la villa de Santa Fè, centro del nueuo Mexico, que eſtà en 37. grados, atraueſando por la nacion Apache de los Vaqueros por mas de ciento y doze leguas al Oriente, ſe va a dar en la naciõ Xumana, que por ſer ſu conuerſion tan milagroſa, es juſto dezir como fue. Años atras, andando vn Religioſo llamado fray Iuan de Salas, ocupado en la conuerſion de los Indios Tompiras y Salineros, adonde ay las mayores ſalinas del mundo, que confinan por aquella parte con eſtos Xumanas: huuo guerra entre ellos, y boluiendo el Padre fray Iuan de Salas por los Salineros, dixeron los Xumanas, Que gente que boluia por los pobres, era buena, y aſsi quedaron aficionados al Padre, y le rogauan fueſſe a viuir entre ellos, y cada año le venian a buſcar, y como eſtaua tambien ocupado con los Chriſtianos, por ſer lengua, y muy buen Miniſtro, y no tener Religioſos baſtantes, fui entreteniendo a los Xumanas, que le pedian, haſta que Dios embiaſſe mas obreros, como los embiò el año paſſado de 29. inſpirando a V. Mageſtad, mandaſſe al Virrey de la Nueua-Eſpaña, q̄ nos embiaſſe treinta Religioſos, los quales lleuò, ſiẽdo ſu Cuſtodio el P. F. Eſteuã de Perea, y aſsi deſpachamos luego al dicho Padre cõ otro compañero, q̄ es el P. F. Diego Lopez, a los quales ivan guiando los miſmos Indios; y antes que fueſſen, preguntãdo a los Indios, que nos dixeſſen la cauſa por que con tanto afecto nos pediã el Bautiſmo, y Religioſos que los fueſſen a dotrinar? * Reſpondieron, que vna muger como aquella que alli teniamos pintada (que era vn retrato de la Madre Luiſa de Carrion) les predicaua a cada vno dellos en ſu lengua, que vinieſſen a llamar a los Padres, para que los enſeñaſſen y bautizaſſen, y que no fueſſen pereçoſos; y que la muger que les predicaua, eſtaua veſtida, ni mas, ni menos, como la que alli eſtaua pintada, pero q̄ el roſtro no era como aquel,

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ſino que era moça y hermoſa: y ſiempre q̃ venian Indios de nueuo de aquellas naciones, mirando el retrato, y confiriendolo entreſi, dezian,que el veſtido era el miſmo, pero que el roſtro no, porque el de la muger que les predicaua era de moça y hermoſa.

VIendo el demonio, enemigo de las almas, que aquellos Religioſos ivan a librar de ſus vñas las que alli gozaua, quiſo defenderſe, y vsò de vn ardid de los que ſuele, y fue,que ſecò las lagunas del agua que bebian, a cuya cauſa tambien ſe auyentò el mucho ganado de Sibola que por alli auia, de que todas eſtas naciones ſe ſuſtentauan; y luego, por medio de los Indios hechizeros, echò la voz, que mudaſſen pueſto,para buſcar de comer, y que ya no vendrian los Religioſos que embiauan a llamar, pues en ſeis años que los auian eſperado, no ivan, y eſta vez ſe tardauan ya tanto, que no auia q̃ eſperarlos, y aſsi mandaron los Capitanes, que alçaſſen tiendas para irſe al otro dia de madrugada; y al amanecer les hablò la Santa a cada vno dellos en particular,y les dixo,q̃ no ſe fueſſen, que ya los Religioſos a quien ellos embiauan a buſcar, ivan cerca; y confiriendolo todos entre ſi, embiaron a doze Capitanes de mas ſatisfacion a ver ſi era aſsi, y a tercer dia toparõ con los Religioſos, a los quales pidieron les moſtraſſe el retrato de la muger que les predicaua; y moſtrandole el Padre vno de la Madre Luiſa de Carrion, dixerõ, que como aquella eſtaua veſtida, pero que era mas hermoſa y moça; y al punto fueron a dar nueua a los ſuyos de la venida de los Padres, y les ſalieron a recebir en proceſsion con dos Cruzes por delante, como tan bien induſtriados del cielo, a las quales auiendo adorado los dichos Padres y tres ſoldados que con ellos ivan: ſacaron tãbien los Padres ſus dos Crucifixos, q̃ al cuello lleuauan, y todos le vinieron a beſar, y a venerar, como ſi fuerã Chriſtianos muy antiguos, y lo miſmo hizierõ a vn Niño Ieſus muy lindo que lleuauan, poniendo con mucha deuocion la boca y ojos en ſus pies, de que todos los nueſtros quedauan muy admirados. Pues auiendoſe juntado mas de diez mil almas en aquel campo a oir la palabra del Señor, dixoles

les el Padre Salas, Que ſi de todo ſu coraçon pedian el bautiſmo. A lo qual reſpondierō los Capitanes, Que ſolo a eſſo le auian embiado a llamar, y a eſſo ſe auian juntado. Dixoles el Padre, Que aunque es verdad que los Capitanes ſuponian por todos, que ſe holgara de oirlo de boca de cada vno; y ya que eſſo no podia ſer, por ſer tanta la gente, que corrieſſe la voz, y que el que quiſieſſe ſer Chriſtiano, en el lugar adonde eſtaua alçaſſe el braço, y conoceria de alli quiē lo queria ſer: coſa marauilloſa! que con vn alarido grande alçaron todos los braços, leuantandoſe en pie, pidiendo el ſanto Bautiſmo; y lo que mas nos ha enternecido es, que las madres que tenian en los braços a ſus criaturitas de pecho, por verlas incapaces de poder hazer aquella accion, les cogian los bracitos, y ſe los eſtirauan hàzia arriba, pidiēdo por ellas a vozes el ſanto Bautiſmo. Fuerça es de la diuina palabra, que obra con tanta eficazia.

✠ Eſtuuieronſe alli eſtos Religioſos algunos pocos dias predicādo la diuina palabra, y enſeñando a rezar, a que acudian con tanta

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puntualidad, que no faltauan a mañana, y tarde: y en eſtos dias vinierõ menſageros de las demas naciones comarcanas a llamarlos, para que tambien les fueſſen a enſeñar, porque tambien por allà andaua aquella Santa predicandoles: y pareciendoles a los Padres, que aquella mies era mucha, y los obreros pocos, y eſtar la gente diſpueſta a poblar, y hazer ſus Igleſias, ſe boluieron adonde eſtauamos, para lleuar los aderentes para ello. Y antes de ſalir juntaron a todos los Indios para deſpedirſe dellos; y tomando la mano el Padre Salas, como comiſſario que era de la jornada, les dixo, que en el interin que venia, acudieſſen todos los dias, como ſolian, a rezar a vna Cruz que alli auian pueſto en vna peaña, y que en todas las neceſsidades q̃ ſe les ofrecieſſen, acudieſſen con Fè a aquella ſanta Cruz, que ella ſe las remediaria. A lo qual reſpondio el Capitan mayor eſtas Palabras: Padre, noſotros aun no podemos nada con Dios, que ſomos como venados, y animales del campo, y tu puedes mucho con Dios, y con eſta ſanta Cruz, y tenemos muchos enfermos, curalos primero que te vayas,i parece que permitio Dios,que a la ſazon huuieſſe tantos enfermos,en que ſe empleaſſe bien ſu diuina miſericordia, que ſiēdo las tres de la tarde quando començaron, huuo q̄ traer toda la tarde, toda la noche, y el otro dia haſta las diez; y vno de los Religioſos a vn lado,i otro a otro, con ſolo hazer la ſeñal de la Cruz,i dezir el Euangelio de ſan Lucas, *Loquente Ieſu*, y la oraciõ de nueſtra Señora *Cõcede nos*, y la de nueſtro padre S. Franciſco, *Deus qui Eccleſiam tuam.* Inſtantaneamente ſe leuantauan ſanos de todas ſus enfermedades, ciegos,coxos,idropicos,i de todos ſusdolores. O bondad infinita! bendigante los Angeles,que aſsi quieres honrar a eſta ſagrada Religion,y a ſus hijos,confirmando por ſu mano,con tantosmilagros tu diuina palabra que dauan aquellos Religioſos,i ſoldados que lo vian,como paſmados en ver tãtas marauillas obradas por ſus manos,i los Indios tan confirmados en la Fè de la ſanta Cruz, que luego la puſieron cada vno en el frontiſpicio de ſu tienda,i deſpues cada vez que ſalian fuera la lleuadan por guia. Fueron tantos los que alli mila groſamente ſanaron, que no pudieron reduzirſe a numero; los quales obraua Dios con tanta abundancia,que haſta los miſmos ſoldados,que acompañauã a los Religioſos los hazian;por todo ſea Dios infinitamẽte alabado.

BIen ſe infiere de lo dicho los bienes eſpirituales tan copioſos,q̃ nueſtra ſerafica Religion ha deſcubierro por todo el mũdo;i por eſta parte ella ſola es la que con tantos trabajos,y rieſgos haze eſtos deſcubrimientos tan grandioſos;pues,como dicho es,en ſolo diſtrito de cien leguas tiene bautizadas mas de ochenta mil almas,y hechas mas de cinquenta Igleſias, y cõuẽtos muy curioſos, y ſõ mas de quiniẽtos mil Indios los q̃ tenemos pacificos, y ſujetos a V.Mageſtad en todas las naciones comarcanas;y que poco a poco ſe van catequizando para bautizarſe.De ſuerte,que eſtãdo toda aquella tierra haſta agora por el demonio, y poblada de idolatria,ſin que huuieſſe perſona que alabaſſe al Santiſsimo nõbre de Ieſus; oy eſtà toda poblada de Templos, y Conuentos,y de peañas de la Cruz, y no ay quiẽ a vozes por los cãpos,ſaludandoſe vnos a otros,no alaben a Dios,y a ſu ſantiſsima Madre;merito en q̃ V.Mageſtad es tã intereſſado;pues cõ ſus Reales auxilios nos ſuſtẽtamos en aquellas cõuerſiones,y cõ ſus Reales aueres fundamos Igleſias al Señor;por lo qual tengo muy grã fe,q̃ como V.Mageſtad dilata tanto nueſtra ſata Fè Catolica,ſe lo ha de pagar nueſtro Señor,aũ en eſta vida en la miſma moneda,en dilatar ſu Real Corona,ſugetãdo a tãtos enemigos de la Fè,y manifeſtãdole tã ricos teſoros de minas,como agora deſcubrimos.

Reyno de Quivira Aixaos.

QVando eſtos dos Religioſos eſtuuierõ obrando aquellas marauillas en la nacion Xumana,y en la de los Iapies,Xabatoas, y otras q̃ alli erã comarcanas: *In omnẽ terram exiuit ſonus eorũ.* Llegò tãbiẽ eſta voz al Reyno de Quivira,y al de los Aixaos, q̃ eſtauã de alli 30.ò 40. leguas al miſmo rumbo del Oriente,y embiaron ſus Embaxadores a los Padres,para q̃ fueſſen allà tãbien a enſeñarlos, y bautizarlos; diziendo,como la miſma Santa los andaua alla predicãdo,que vinieſſen a llamarlos: Pues como los Religioſos eſtauan ya de camino para boluerſe de donde ſalieron, y lleuar lo neceſſario,para fundar las Igleſias,les dixeron,que tambien irian allà,i traerian para ellos mas Religioſos que los ayudaſſen,i aſſi ſe vinieron con ellos los miſmos Embaxadores,que nos dezian a todos el afecto con q̃ pedian el bautiſmo, y ſin falta auran entrado ya, y començado a obrar en la viña del Señor.

NO puedo dexar de dezir en eſta ocaſiõ el particular ſeruicio que mi Religion haze a V. Mageſtad,en la pacificacion,y cõuerſion deſte Reino de Quivira, y Aixaos, pues es de conocida grandeza, y riqueza. Siendo pues aſsi,q̃ la villa de Sãta-Fe eſtà en treinta y ſiete grados,y ẽdo de alli al Leſte ciẽto y cinquẽta leguas: daſe en eſte Reyno, y aſsi eſtâ en la miſma altura: Aſsimeſmo ſabemos con euidencia,i viſta de ojos auer en eſte Reyno, y en el de los Aixaos,que confina con el,muy gran cantidad de oro,y cada dia vemos Indios ſuyos,que tratan con los nueſtros, que lo teſtifican, y mucho mejor los Flamencos,y Ingleſes,que por la parte de la Florida eſtan cerca dellos,y reſgatan con ellos el metal tierra de oro en muchiſsima cantidad;el qual lleuan aſsi a beneficiar ſus tierras,y gozan los Erejes de la riqueza tan grande,que la Igleſia Catolica, en nombre de Dios concedio a V. Mageſtad, y con ella nos hazẽ guerra; aſsi miſmo lo teſtifica bien el Capitan,i gran piloto, Vicente Gonçalez de la nacion Luſitana,que de la Avana fue a coſtear la coſta de la Florida, i entrò en aquel Rio grande a donde los Ingleſes eſtan poblados, i entrando la tierra a dentro, vio los Indios de Quivira, y Aixaos,con orejeras,y gargantillas de oro muy grueſſas,i tan blandas,que con los dedos hazian dellas lo q̃ querian, aſſegurando los Indios auer en ſu Reyno de Quivira y Aixaos mucho de aquello;i aſsi para que V. Mageſtad goze de todo eſto, cõuiene en todo caſo,que eſte Reyno de Quivira, y el de los Aixaos ſe pueble, y ſean Chriſtianos aquellos Indios, i mirando deſte pueſto de Quivira a lo mas cercano de la mar, que cae al Oriente, eſtà ſeñalada en las cartas de marcar vna baìa,con titulo del Eſpiritu Sãto en 29.grados entre el cabo de Apalache,y la coſta de Tampico,que es la coſta del Norte de la Nueva-Eſpaña,dentro de la enſenada. Carteando pues deſte Reino de Quivira a eſta enſenada,aun no ay cien leguas, y de alli a la Avana ſe va en cinco,o ſeis dias coſteando la coſta: De ſuerte,que ſi eſte puerto, o baía del Epiritu Santo ſe poblaſſe, ſe aorrauan por alli mas de ochocientas leguas, que ſon las que ay del Nueuo-Mexico a la Auana, viniendo por Mexico; las quales ſe caminan en mas de vn año,y las quatrocientas dellas por tierra de guerra muy peligroſa,a donde V. Mageſtad haze muchos gaſtos en eſcoltas de ſoldados,y carros,y por eſta parte de la baía del Eſpiritu Santo ſe aorra todo eſto en ſolas ciẽ leguas de camino,que ay del Reyno de Quivira a eſta baía,y todo el camino pacifico de gente amiga i conocida, y que oy eſtaran ya convertidos,i trataràn de ſu bautiſmo, que en eſte eſtado los dexè el año paſſado: aſsi miſmo por eſta parte,ſiendo la cercania tan grande a la Avana,ſe puede cõ facilidad gozar de la corambre que ſe puede hazer del ganado de Sibola,y ſu lana,que como es ganado que pelecha, ſuele el aire juntar por los campos montones della, y ſe pierde; y aſsi deſte genero, como de otros muchos que aquella tierra tiene; deſde alli puede con facilidad en fragatillas, tratar, i contratar con toda la coſta de Nueua-Eſpaña, Tampico, ſan Iuan de Lua, Cãpeche, Auana, y Florida; y todo a viſta de tierra, con que aquellos puertos iran en aumento y riqueza, de que V. Mageſtad ſerà muy intereſſado; de mas de que en aquella baía del Eſpiritu Santo, y toda aquella coſta, haſta la Florida, tiene muchas perlas, y ambar, y oy ſe pierde todo, por no eſtar poblada, y a eſta cauſa andan por alli tantos enemigos Olandeſes robando quantas fragatillas atravieſſan la enſenada, y eſtando poblada la baía, no tendrian a donde guarecerſe: Aſsi meſmo para lleuar deſde Mexico al Nueuo-Mexico todo lo neceſſario que V. Mageſtad embia a aquellas Igleſias, ſe va por quinientas leguas, y las mas de guerra, y luego para llegar a Quivira, ſe hã de caminar otras ciento y cinquenta, en que harà V. Mageſtad mas gaſto, que vale lo principal, y todo eſto ſe aorra, embiãdolo en vna fragatilla deſde la Auana a la baía del Eſpiritu Santo, ſi ſe poblaſſe.

Ocupacion ſanta, en que los Religioſos ſe entretienen.

Bien ſe infiere de todo lo ſobredicho, quã luzidos ſon los trabajos, y peregrinaciones de los Religioſos de mi padre ſan Franciſco en ſeruicio de Dios nueſtro Señor; pues no ſolo han quitado al demonio el imperio de aquellas almas, que tan ſin contradiciõ gozava, ſino que quitada toda idolatria, i adoracion del demonio: ſolo ſe adora al Señor y Criador de todas las coſas, y a donde no parecian mas que eſtufas de idolatria, oy eſtà toda la tierra poblada de muy ſuntuoſos, y curioſos Templos, que los Religioſos han hecho, y pueſto tanto cuydado en ello, que para hazerlos tales ſe deſhaziã de lo que V. Mageſtad les da para ſu ſuſtẽto y veſtuario. La ocupaciõ cõtinua q̃ tienen es de Marta y Maria, acudiendo como Marta a la vida activa, curando los enfermos, y ſuſtentando los pobres neceſsitados, haziendo ſembrar para eſto ſemen teras,y criar ganado,y con eſto rõper tierras a los Indios,que no viuẽ en poblado, y deſpues de averles hecho caſa y pueblo entero, y arado las tierras,y ſembradoſelas, y darles todo lo neceſſario,para aquellos meſes primeros; los traen a viuir alli,como gente a donde los enſeñan a rezar toda la Dotrina Criſtiana , y buenas coſtumbres; aſsi meſmo a leer , y eſcrivir a los muchachos, y a cantar , que es para alabar al Señor ver en tan poco tiempo tãtas Capillas de canto de organo; aſsi meſmo todos los oficios,y artes para el vſo humano, como es ſaſtres,çapateros,carpinteros,herreros, y los demas en q̃ ya eſtan muy dieſtros, y todo pende de la ſolicitud y cuidado del Religioſo,que ſi el faltaſſe,ceſſaria todo eſte concierto,y toda la vida politica,en que ſon enſeñados a nueſtro modo. Tampoco faltan , como Maria en la vida contemplativa,que es el eſtado monacal,que han profeſſado; pues con tantas ocupaciones exteriores de la adminiſtracion de los ſantos Sacramentos , no paran de vn pueblo en otro,que no ay Religioſo, q̃ no tenga a ſu cargo quatro,y cinco pueblos,vi uen de tal ſuerte,que parece eſtan en vna comunidad; pues jamas los Maitines a media noche faltan,y las demas oras,y Miſſa mayor a ſu tiempo, y los conuentos con tanto concierto, que mas parecen Santuarios, que caſa de vn ſolo Fraile,y con tan continuas ocupaciones; jamas faltan los ayunos haſta las Quareſmas de los benditos, y otros muchos exercicios eſpirituales,con que tienen tan edificados,aſsi Eſpañoles como a Indios, que como a Angeles los reſpetan: he querido tocar aſſi de paſſo eſta materia,eſcuſando dezir otras muchas coſas, que pudiera; ſolo porque V. Mageſtad conozca la calidad, y virtud de aquellos ſus Capellanes, que con tanto agradecimiento,amor y voluntad, encomiendan a Dios a V. Mageſtad en aquel rincon tan apartado, y en aquella primitiua Igleſia,a donde nueſtro Señor obra tantas marauillas, i a donde V. Mageſtad deve acudir con todo fauor y auxilio; aſsi por la obligacion en que la Igleſia puſo a V Mageſtad en la Bula de Alexandro Sexto,quando le dio en nombre de Dios eſtos Reynos,por ſolo el cuidado de ſuſ tentar alli nueſtra ſanta Fee Catolica, y conuerſion de tantas almas, como tambien por las muchas mercedes, q̄ Dios nueſtro Señor haze alli a V. Mageſtad, en darle tantas riquezas, como auemos deſcubierto en la Prouincia de los Piros, como queda dicho, y en eſte Reyno de Quivira, y Aixaos, y ſolo falta para gozar de toda aquella Monarquia, el poblar los puertos, por donde ſe ſaquen tantas riquezas, y que aya quien las beneficie; pues es cierto, que las planchas de plata, no hā de ſalir hechas de las minas, ſino que las han de coſtear, y traer a caſa, haſta que Dios nueſtro Señor nos mueſtre a los ojos los metales ricos, y los puertos por donde los auemos de gozar.

Coſta del Sur.

AViendo tratado de toda la tierra, que auemos pacificado, y conuertido a Dios nueſtro Señor, y a V. Mageſtad por eſta parte del Norte, es juſto ſepa V. Mageſtad otro teſoro, que le eſtà guardado mas ha de ſetēta años, y deſpues de deſcubierto y viſto, ſe dexò aſsi, haſta que nueſtro Señor ſea ſervido de q̄ ſe llegaſſe ſu hora. Avrà ſetenta años, que el Virrey de la Nueua-Eſpaña don Antonio de Mendoza embiò al Capitan Alonſo Vazquez Coronado al deſcubrimiento de la coſta del Sur, y fueron con el quatro Religioſos de mi orden, y aunque para tratar deſtas naciones, pudieramos començar deſde el Nueuo-Mexico, yendo derechamente al Sur, o deſde el camino del Nueuo-Mexico en el poſtrer pueblo de la Nueva Eſpaña, que es el valle de ſanta Barbara, ſaliendo al Oeſte, que es al Ocidente, por ſer toda tierra contigua, y vna con el Nuevo-Mexico, y no aver entrado en ella otra Religion mas que la de mi padre ſan Frãciſco, que a coſta de ſu ſangre ha dado noticia de nueſtra ſanta Fee Catolica, ſupueſto que para hazer eſta jornada, no ſe ha de començar por el Nuevo-Mexico, ſino de la ciudad de Mexico, me pareze mas acertado comenzarla deſta ciudad, y llegar a la Prouincia de Chiametla, Culuacan, y Sinaloa, que eſtan de las de Xaliſco cinquenta, o ſeſenta leguas, ſe va a dar a eſtas naciones, en la forma ſiguiente.

Valle de Señora.

DIgo pues, que ſaliendo deſta Provincia de Chiametla, y caminando ochenta leguas al Norte; lleuando ſiempre cerca, y coſteando la màr del Sur, ſe llega, y dâ en el Valle de Señora, que tiene ſeſenta leguas de largo, y diez de ancho, por medio del qual paſſa vn Rio muy ancho, tierra muy fertil de ſemēteras, y poblada de muchas poblaciones. El primer pueblo ſe llama de los Coraçones, por los muchos de venado que alli preſentaron a los nueſtros: tiene eſte pueblo ſetecientas caſas muy bien ordenadas, y el temple della tierra muy deleitable.

Agaſtan.

A Seys leguas adelāte deſte pueblo al miſmo rumbo, eſtà otro llamado Agaſtan, que es mayor que el paſſado, y al rededor, y por todo eſte valle ay muchos pueblos; pero el principal, q̄ es a donde aſsiſte el Caziq̄ deſte Reyno, es de tres mil caſas muy buenas, y viſtoſas; y aſsi en eſte como en los demas tie-

tienē ſus Templos de idolatria muy viſtoſos, y ſepulcros a donde ſe entierran las perſonas principales.

Sibola.

SAliendo pues del vltimo pueblo deſte valle de Señora al miſmo Norte, por la miſma coſta de la mar del Sur, quarenta, o cinquēta leguas eſtà la Prouincia de Sibola; y aſsi ſe llama tambien la principal ciudad; la qual tiene en ſu comarca otras ſiete ciudades. La primera ſerà de mil caſas, y las otras de mucho mas, ſon de piedra y madera, y de a tres y quatro altos muy viſtoſas.

Tihues.

PAſſadas otras dos jornadas a la miſma parte, topaſe cō la Prouincia de Tihues, q̄ haze muy grā ventaja a la paſſada en hermoſura y fortaleza de edificios. La primera ciudad yendo de Sibola, q̄ deve ſer la principal deſte Reyno, ſe llama Tihues, tiene quatromil caſas y mas, todas muy grandes, en q̄ viuiā de diez a quinze vezinos, muy altos corredores, y terrados, y muy altas torres; toda eſta ciudad ſe comunica por las azuteas, y terrados por paſſadizos; eſtaua ſituada en vn llano a orillas de vn rio, cercada de muros de piedra, ſin cal, ſino con yeſo; y aſsi ſe quedavan eſpantados los Eſpañoles de ſu hermoſura.

Ciudad.

OTra ciudad eſtà media legua deſta de Tihues, tambien a la orilla del rio de tres mil caſas, donde el Rey tiene ſus mugeres, ciudad muy hermoſa y fuerte en quadra, cuyas caſas ſon de piedra; tiene tres plaças, y la menor es de ducientos paſſos de ancho, y otros tantos de largo. Deſtas plaças ſe ſale por calles tan angoſtas, que apenas caben dos de a caballo, todas las caſas tienen ſus corredores a las plaças, como las del Nuevo-Mexico, y ſus eſtufas en ellas para el imbierno, y deſtas ay mas de veinte muy grandes, q̄ arguye bien la mucha gente que alli ay. Por la miſma orilla deſte rio a media legua, y a dos, a tres y a quatro, ay mas de otras veinte poblaciones como eſta, mas y menos fuertes, y por eſpacio de ſeſenta leguas, que corre eſte rio, haſta la mar, va todo poblado, y ſe llama el rio Brauo, y tendra de ancho vn tiro de arcabuz.

Peñol marauilloſo.

SAliendo de Tihues, hàzia el Poniente, y no al Norte, como haſta aqui, eſpacio de dos jornadas, eſtá vna Ciudad la mas eſtraña y fuerte; que deve de auer en el mũdo; la qual es de mas de dos mil caſas, tan capazes, q̄ dezian auer en ellas mas de ſiete mil vezinos, y aun llegaron a dezir mas; eſtà en vnos grandes llanos de quinze leguas, en medio de los quales eſtâ vn Peñol tan alto como la torre de la Igleſia de Sevilla, que parece tener mas de mil eſtados. En lo alto deſte Peñol eſtà todo llano por eſpacio de una legua, ſin genero de arbol, ni cerro; en el qual eſtà edificada la ciudad; alli, y abaxo en los llanos tienen ſus ſemēteras, y mayzales: Todo eſte Peñol por de fuera es peña tajada tan liſa y derecha, que no tiene por donde ſubir arriba, ſino es vn camino hecho a mano tan angoſto, que no cabe por

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el mas de ſola vna perſona, y a trechos algunas concauidades,para ſi ſe encontraren dos en el camino,alli puedan paſſar. Tienen arriba muy grandes ciſternas,y algibes de agua; por lo qual es inexpugnable, y marauilloſa en todo.

Tuzayan.

SIguiendo eſte miſmo rumbo al poniente a la coſta del mar del Sur ochenta leguas de Tihues,eſtà la Prouincia de Tuzayan, que tiene haſta treinta pueblos de buenas caſas, aunque no como las dichas.

Cicuyo.

DAndo la buelta al Norte,deſde la ciudad de Tihues,tres ò quatro jornadas, eſtà vn llano,que tiene ſeis leguas, todo lleno de labranças entre vnos pinales,que dan maravilloſos piñones,y otros arboles gracioſos, y grandes. Alli eſtà edificada vna grande y hermoſa ciudad llamada en la lengua de aquella tierra Cycuyo,en tierra llana,que tendra mas de ſeis mil caſas muy grandes de ſeis y ſiete al tos. Tiene dos cercas, la vna apartada de la otra diez paſſos de altor de dos eſtados, demaſiado de fuertes, para entre gente, que no vſa artilleria, tiene ſus torres con ſus chapiteles muy colorados, y viſtoſos, tiene tres plazas muy grandes, y en ellas muchas eſtufas, y todas las caſas con ſus corredores a las plaças, y las calles angoſtas, que ſolo podran paſſar dos de acauallo, es ciudad muy viſtoſa y fuerte; y aſsi dexò eſpantados a los nueſtros.

Quivira.

QVinze jornadas pequeñas de Tihues hazia el Ocidente eſta el Reyno de Quivira, donde ay grandes y muchas poblaciones cuyas caſas ſon de paja, como en la Nueva-Eſpaña, porque el temple de aqui es muy tẽplado, y eſta nacion no haze ſus edificios cõ mas fauſto de aquel que an meneſter para ſu paſſadia llana, y aunque llamamos a eſta la mar del Sur, es la de la California, que del Sur al Norte atrauieſſa, haſta ſalir al eſtrecho de Anian.

HAſta eſte punto llegò Alonſo Vazquez Coronado, y ſu gente con nueſtros qua tro Riligioſos , y por no empeñarſe tanto , y con tampoca gente, y tampocas municiones, y baſtimentos,ſe determinaron a boluer,ſiendo informados de que a vna vanda, y a otra auia grandioſas poblaciones , y muy ricas ; y auiendo dexado alli ſembrada la ſemilla de la diuina palabra , y conocimiento de nueſtro Dios y Señor, lo que aquel breue tiempo dio lugar , ſe boluieron a dar noticia al Virrey de lo que auian viſto ; y ſe quedò aſsi haſta que Dios ſea ſeruido ſe llegue ſu hora , y goze V.Mageſtad tambien de aquella Monarquia. La Mageſtad de Dios ſe ſirua diſponerlo todo,de ſuerte,que todas aquellas almasconozcan, y adoren ſu ſantiſsimo nombre , y conſigan el Sacramento ſanto del Bautiſmo , y a V.Mageſtad eſpiritu,gracia,y fuerças para ſugetar a la Igleſia,y a ſu Real Corona tantas barbaras naciones,como alli habitan.

Fray Alonſo de Benauides.

ESte es el Memorial, que el dicho padre Fray Alonſo de Venauedis ha ſacado,y recogido; aſsi de coſas eſperimentadas, y viſtas por el en ſu tiempo, como de vna informacion juridica, y otras relaciones autenticas, que me remitio el padre Comiſſario General de Nueva Eſpaña; Del qual Memorial aurà V. Mageſtad entendido los grandes frutos eſpirituales, y temporales, con que Dios nueſtro Señor ha querido gratificar el Catolico zelo, que V. Mageſtad ha moſtrado, en fauorecer con ſus reales eſtipendios aquellas cõuerſiones, con tato aprouechamiento de mas de quinientas mil almas, por induſtria y ſolicitud, y no ſin inmenſos trabajos de los hijos deſta ſerafica Religion. Los quales, aſsi en eſtas conuerſiones, como en todas las demas de aquel nueuo mundo, en las Indias Orientales, y Ocidentales, han ſido los primeros, que tan deſintereſſadamente han pueſto el ombro, y dado feliz, y dichoſo principio a tã glorioſas empreſſas. Por tanto ſuplico a V. Mageſtad ſea ſeruido mandar de nueuo ſe fauorezcan aquellas conuerſiones, con embiar a ellas, y a todas las Prouincias de mi Orden (la qual ſola en toda la America ſe ocupa oy en conuerſiones nueuas) Religioſos de las de Eſpaña, de dõ de tuuieron ſiempre ſu principio, y conſeruacion, por ſer la mies tan grande y copioſa, y los obreros de allà tan pocos, que ninguna de aquellas Prouincias los puede proueer, aunq̃ ſea la del ſanto Evangelio; porque dado, que eſta tenga los que le baſtan, ſi han de ſer tales quales es bien ſe eſcojan para eſtas Apoſtolicas miſiones, no puede darlos a las demas a menos de quedarſe en notable mengua, y neceſsidad de lo que tanto le importa para ſu conſeruacion, en la perfecion, y obſeruancia de ſu regla, y cumplimiento de ſus obligaciones; y aſsi eſcriue el padre Comiſſario General de aquellas Prouincias, que todas eſtan con neceſsidad muy vrgente de que V. Mageſtad las prouea de Religioſos de aca, que las cultiuen, para que viendoſe fauorecidos de tal proteccion y amparo, cobren animo, y ſe esfuercen los Religioſos a proſeguir, y lleuar adelante los muchos, y auentajados ſeruicios, que en aquellas partes han hecho a entrambas Mageſtades.

Fray Iuan de Santander Comiſſario General de Indias.

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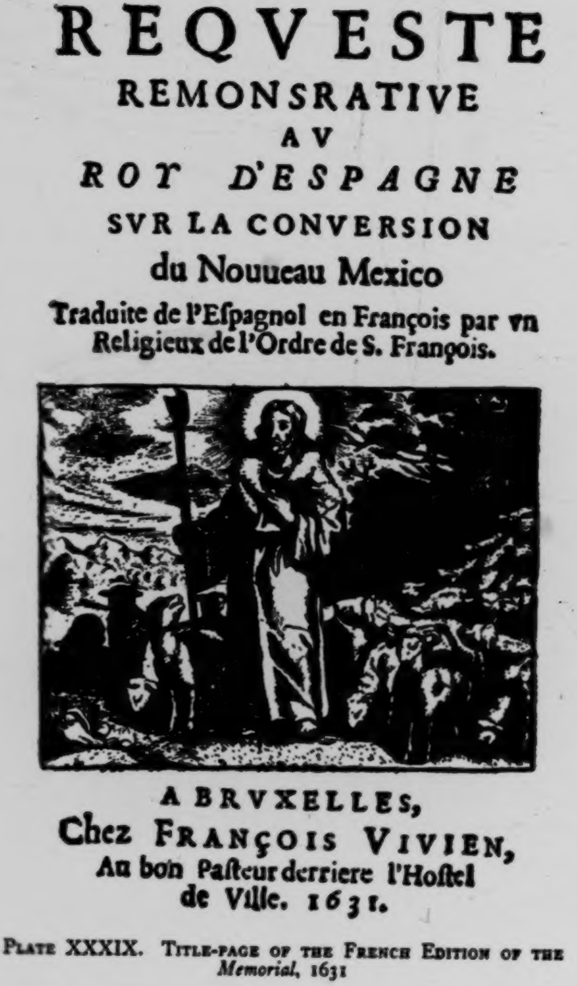
1. Fray Juan de Santander was born in Castro Urdiales, Santander, Spain, at an unknown date, and died at Palma, Mallorca, Balearic Islands, January 24, 1644. He took the habit of Franciscan friar at Cantabria. After having obtained various professorships, which he filled in different monasteries, he was granted an honorary professorship and various dignities of his Order, including the office of Provincial. He was *Definador General* and Commissary-General of the Indies, a position filled by Royal appointment and regarded as of great distinction in the Order of Saint Francis. In 1631 Philip IV nominated him to occupy the episcopal see of Mallorca. He embarked for that island, and on September 2 of the year named assumed the bishopric, although he did not make his solemn entry until March 7, 1632. For several years two factions, known as Canamunt and Canavall, had existed in Mallorca, especially in its capital, that is, those of the high part of the city and those of the low part. These bands were led by the most distinguished of the nobility, followed by many tradesmen and other adherents. Santander earnestly endeavored to reëstablish peace between them, for which purpose he called them together, October 11, 1632, in the Monastery of Saint Francis Assisi. Here, accompanied by the magistrates of the city and the King, and by Raimundo Zaforteza, Royal Solicitor and Lieutenant of the Viceroy, he made such efforts that the two factions became thoroughly reconciled. Santander then devoted himself to the reform of the clergy, and as the fittest means of attaining his ends, he convened, in 1636, a diocesan synod whose canons and decrees were published at Palma. During the second session of this synod, celebrated September 12 of the year named, Dr. Gabriel Casas, vicar of Santa Cruz, affirmed that the regulars abused their privileges, daily inventing new methods of usurping the parochial rights, to the injury of both the parish priests and the secular clergy. Santander, with his prudence, induced all to respect the decision of the judges to whom the contending parties had submitted their complaints. Grave disputes also arose between the rectors on the one side and the Jesuit fathers and their adherents on the other, but Santander conciliated these factions in his customary judicious and diplomatic manner. During Santander's bishopric the College of Nuestra Señora de Sapiencia was established, in 1635, in Palma, through the liberality of Bartolomé Llul, presbyter and canon of Mallorca. When Alonso de Cardona, Viceroy and Captain-General of Mallorca, went on an expedition to the islands of Santa Margarita and San Onorato, the King appointed Santander Lieutenant of the Viceroy and Royal Surveyor, which positions he filled to the satisfaction of the monarch. The Bishop was given sepulture in the church of the Real Convento de San Francisco at Palma, where he was buried at the foot of the steps of the chancel. See *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, t. 18, p. 639, Barcelona, 1896. F. W. H.

2. Of Alonso de Benavides, the author of this important *Memorial*, very little is known. It is gathered from Fr. Agustin de Vetancurt's *Menologio Franciscano de los Varones mas Señalados* (ed. 1871, p. 428), and from less

important sources, that he was a son of Pedro Alonso Nieto and Antonia Murato de Benavides, and that he was born on the island of San Miguel (evidently the São Miguel of the Azores group) in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The *Diccionário Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* (t. 3, p. 445, Barcelona, 1888) places his birth at about 1610, but this is of course a number of years too late, as he made his vows in the *convento* (apparently the Convento de Nuestro Padre San Francisco) of the City of Mexico, August 12, 1603, later becoming master of novices in the monastery of Puebla. When in 1621 New Mexico was erected into the "Custódia de la Conversion de San Pablo," Benavides became the Father Custodian, reaching his new field of labor with twenty-six friars some time in the following year. Like his religious associates Benavides was zealous in his adopted cause, selecting for himself the hazardous undertaking, during a part of the time, of propagating the gospel among the savage Apache of the region of the upper Gila in what is now southwestern New Mexico. He was probably relieved of the custodianship late in 1629, since his successor, Fray Estevan de Perea (who left the City of Mexico September 5, 1628, with the twenty-nine other priests and lay brothers whom the King had decreed should be sent to New Mexico in response to the urgent request of Fray Juan de Santander, Commissary-General of the Indies, made at the solicitation of Benavides), reached Santa Fe at Eastertide, 1629, and from the *Memorial* itself (see our page 45) we find that Benavides was engaged in converting visiting Navaho at Santa Clara pueblo in September of that year. From a direct statement by Benavides in the *Memorial* we are left to surmise that he did not return to Mexico until 1630, although according to his letter addressed to the Padres in New Mexico, written at Madrid in 1631, he determined as early as 1628 to go to Mexico. It is quite certain, at any rate, that he did not leave New Mexico until after Perea's arrival, for the reason above stated as well as because he was familiar with the beginning of the conversions which Perea had made (see Perea's *Verdadera Relación* [1632] and *Segunda Relación* [1633] translated in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, vol. xv, nos. 5, 6, Nov., Dec., 1901). It was the evident intention of Benavides to return to New Mexico, there to continue his missionary labors, for in his letter of 1631, above cited, he states that it was his hope "to go back there to finish my days if He will allow me to do so in the company and service of your Reverences." But after reaching the City of Mexico it seemed wise to the Viceroy and the Prelates that he should proceed to Spain for the purpose of giving to the King and to the Father-General of the Franciscan Order, Fray Bernardino de Siena, an account of "the more notable things which had transpired in our Holy Custody" of New Mexico. Benavides reached Spain, August 1, 1630, where, at Madrid, his *Memorial* was duly presented. That it was received with high favor there would be no doubt even if we had not word to that effect from Benavides himself, for, besides being the direct means of the granting of the much-desired missionaries, some of them at the cost of the Royal exchequer, the report was published, by authority, at Madrid in the same year, at which time Benavides was Comisário del Santo Oficio. Let us quote Benavides' own words regarding the reception of the *Memorial*, written with characteristic modesty to the Fathers he had left behind in New Mexico:

"With this letter I send to Your Paternities a Memorial in print [*de molde*], which I presented to His Majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies; and it



REQVESTE
REMONSRATIVE
AV
ROY D'ESPAGNE
SVR LA CONVERSION
du Nouueau Mexico
Traduite de l'Eſpagnol en François par vn
Religieux de l'Ordre de S. François.

A BRVXELLES,
Chez FRANÇOIS VIVIEN,
Au bon Paſteur derriere l'Hoſtel
de Ville. 1631.

PLATE XXXIX. TITLE-PAGE OF THE FRENCH EDITION OF THE *Memorial*, 1631

was so well received in Spain that I think to issue a second impression for the comfort of the so many that ask it. Your Paternities must not judge me as curt — as I well know the Memorial is very much so, in the much that it lacks and that Your Paternities merit. But I made it thus brief, although at the cost of not saying very much that is lacking, solely to constrain His Majesty to read it. And not only did he read it, and those of his Council read it all, but it seemed so good to them that not only have they read it many times and know it by memory, but for a second time they have asked me other [reports] (and in these demands I have distributed 400 books; and our Most Reverend Padre General sent them to Rome to His Holiness [the Pope])— outside of those which I speak of in the printed Memorial."

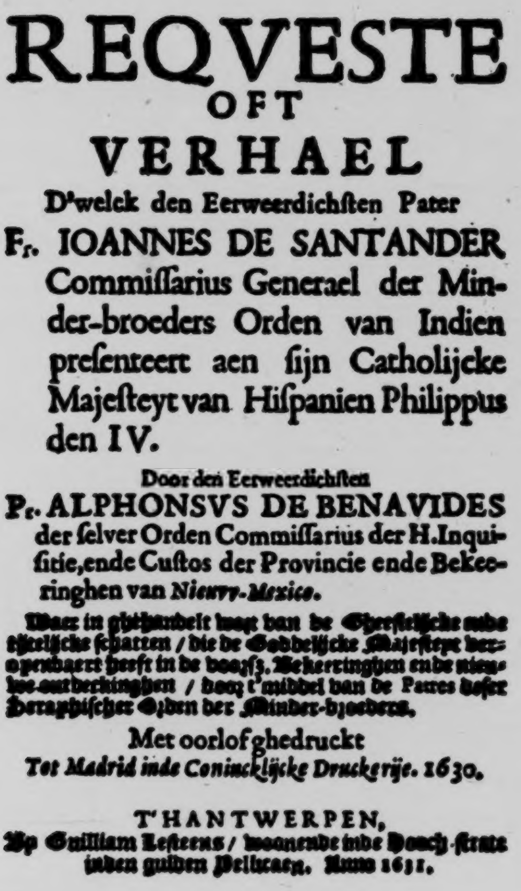
Copies of the *Memorial* afford internal evidences that the author's intention to reprint the book was put in effect. The two copies examined by me (the Edward E. Ayer copy in the Newberry Library of Chicago and the copy from the Huth collection now in the Library of Congress) exhibit certain typographical changes that make this apparent. For example, in the Ayer copy (which I take to be of the first impression), both the odd and the even pages are numbered in the upper left-hand corner, while the single marginal rule is at the right side of the page; in the Library of Congress copy the odd pages are correctly numbered in the upper right-hand corner, and the single rule is on the inner margin of the page. The spelling "Cuñi" in the heading on page 35 and also in the second line of the text of this section in the Ayer copy, is changed to "Zuñi" in the Library of Congress copy to conform with the orthography elsewhere in the text (page 36, for example). On page 91 the heading "Reyno de Quivira Aixaos" in the Ayer copy appears as "Reyno de Quivira y Aixaos" in the Library of Congress copy, although why this change should have been made is not apparent, as it is not consistent with the references to these two "provinces" in the text. Careful search would probably detect other typographical changes, but those noted are sufficient, I believe, to show that there were two impressions of the *Memorial.* There is no doubt, however, that they were printed from the same type; that is, without resetting. Curiously enough, in altering the position of the pagination of the odd pages above referred to, the errors in the page numbers were not corrected.

On the last of April, 1631, Benavides visited the now-celebrated Mother Maria de Jesús (otherwise known as Maria de Ágreda), abbess of the Convento de la Concepción Purísima in the town of Ágreda, on the borders of Aragon and Castile. This visit, which seems to have covered a fortnight, was made at the instance of Father-General Siena, who had informed Benavides that eight years before he had notice of this remarkable woman, of how she had apparitions and revelations concerning the conversions in New Mexico, and had himself made the nun a personal visit. Benavides, who mentions Mother Maria de Jesús somewhat at length in the *Memorial* in connection with his description of the conversion of the Jumano Indians (see notes 53 and 55), now learned that this ascetic, who was about twenty-nine years of age, had made numerous "flights" to New Mexico, commencing eleven years before (in 1620), sometimes making the journey three or four times in twenty-four hours. The miracles she claimed to have performed were marvelous in the extreme. Benavides received from her a handwriting, dated May 15, 1631, attesting to the truth of her assertions; he also obtained "the very habit which she wore when she made those visits, and also the veil about which there is a peculiar odor that comforts the soul." Some of the tribal names mentioned by Mother Maria de Jesús, as might be expected, were, like the journeys themselves, creations of the imagination; others, it may be suggested, were derived from the *Memorial* published the year before.

Benavides' communication to the Fathers of New Mexico was published under the title: "*Tanto que se sacó de vna carta, que el R. Padre Fr. Alonso de Benavides, Custodio que fué del Nuevo México, embió á los Religiosos de la Santa Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo de dicho Reyno, desde Madrid, el año de 1631. Dase á la estampa à expensas de vn afecto à la Religion.*" (Small 8° Title, 2ll. dedicatoria, text pp. 1–10.) (The copy mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Magnificent Library of the Late Hon. Henry C. Murphy*, New York, 1884, bound with a copy of the Mexico, 1732, edition of Molina's *Doctrina Christiana*, was sold to the John Carter Brown Library for $15.00.) This letter, together with the "*Traslado de las razones, que la Bendita Madre Maria de Jesus escribe á los dichos PP. del Nuevo México*, appears on pp. 331–336 and 337–340, respectively, of Fr. Francisco Palou's *Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra*, Mexico, 1787. Benavides' *Tanto que se sacó* appears also in Francisco Javier Clavijero's *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California*, translated from the Italian by Nicolas García de San Vicente, pp. 248–252, Méjico, 1852. A translation of Palou's life of Serra, by C. Scott Williams, with an introduction and notes by George Wharton James, was published at Pasadena, California, in 1913.

What is seemingly a copy of the Benavides letter is contained in the collection of manuscripts written or gathered by the noted scholar José Fernando Ramírez, and now in the Museo Nacional of Mexico. The letter is in volume III of "Extractos y Noticias de Manuscritos relacionados con la Historia de Mexico" (pp. 453 et seq.), and, together with an accompanying critique by a Jesuit, is noted by Prof. H. E. Bolton (*Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1913, p. 203) as having the title: "*Carta de Fr. Alonso de Benavides en que se da noticia de las predicaciones que la Madre Ágreda hacía en espíritu á los infieles del Nuevo México (1631), y fragmentos de la crítica que un Jesuita hizo de esta narración.*" Professor Bolton adds the note: "(The carta is printed with illustrated title-page, 16 pp., 16 mo. The critique by the Jesuit is apparently original, and is entitled: 'Súplica del P. Miguel G[u]errero de la Comp^{a} de Jhs. á M R^{s} P^{s} de S Fran^{co}.' 5 pp. Only a fragment. The author scouts the idea of kings among the tribes.)" Also noted by Professor Bolton (op. cit., p. 391) is a "copy of a letter of Benavides to the missionaries of New Mexico, made from the original in the Secretaría de Casa Grande, 1700," contained in the Archives of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, among various bulls, royal *cédulas*, and miscellaneous papers.

According to Cesáreo Fernández de Duro (*Don Diego de Peñalosa y su Descubrimiento del Reino de Quivira*, Madrid, 1882, p. 132), on the authority of Fr. Alonso de Posadas, Benavides published another memorial, "proponiendo la apertura al comercio de los ríos de la bahía del Espíritu Santo" (see note 59); but it would seem that the original *Memorial* was referred to by Posadas and that no additional publication in Spanish was made. It should be borne in mind, however, that Benavides made a report to Santander on the conversions



REQVESTE
OFT
VERHAEL

D'welck den Eerweerdichſten Pater
Fr. IOANNES DE SANTANDER
Commiſſarius Generael der Minder-broeders Orden van Indien
preſenteert aen ſijn Catholijcke
Majeſteyt van Hiſpanien Philippus
den IV.

Door den Eerweerdichſten
Fr. ALPHONSVS DE BENAVIDES
der ſelver Orden Commiſſarius der H. Inquiſitie, ende Cuſtos der Provincie ende Bekeeringhen van *Nieuw-Mexico*.

Waer in ghehandelt wort van de Gheeſtelijcke ende tijtelijcke ſchatten / die de Goddelijcke Majeſteyt veropenbaert heeft in de voorſz. Bekeeringhen ende nieuwe ontdeckinghen / door t'middel van de Patres deſer Seraphiſcher Orden der Minder-broeders.

Met oorlof ghedruckt
Tot Madrid inde Coninckli̇̈jcke Druckerije. 1630.

T'HANTWERPEN,
Op Guilliam Leſteens / woonende inde Hoogh-ſtrate
inden gulden Pellicaen. Anno 1631.

PLATE XL. TITLE-PAGE OF THE DUTCH EDITION OF THE *Memorial*, 1631

in New Mexico under date of June 20, 1626, as mentioned by Santander in his letter to the King, preceding the *Memorial* herein (page 5).

Benavides was appointed assistant bishop to the Archbishop of Goa in Portuguese India, was consecrated, and, on the death of the Archbishop, succeeded him. Benavides died about 1664.

Further evidence that the Spanish *Memorial* of 1630 was received with high favor, not only in Spain but throughout the civilized world, is indicated by the fact that within four years it appeared in four other languages. In 1631 it was translated into French, by F. François Paludanus, and published in Brussels with the following title:

REQVESTE | REMONSTRATIVE | AV | ROY D'ESPAGNE | SVR LA CONVERSION | du Nouueau Mexico | Traduite de l' Eſpagnol en François par vn | Religieux de l' Ordre de S. François | [*Engraving*].

A BRVXELLES, | Chez François Vivien, | Au bon Paſteur derriere l'Hoſtel | de Ville. 1631.

The second title of the French edition is as follows:

REQVESTE | REMONSTRATIVE | Que le Reuerendiſſime Pere, Frere | Iean de Santander, Commiſſaire | General de l' Ordre des Freres Mi- | neurs des Indes, presente à ſa Ma- | jesté Catholique d'Eſpagne Phi- | lippe IV. | *Par le Reuerend Pere* | Frere Alphonſe de Benauides du meſme Or- | dre, Commiſſaire de la Saincte Inquiſi- | tion, & Cuſtode de la Prouince & | Conuerſion du Nouueau- | Mexico. | Où ſe traicte des threſors, tant ſpirituels, que | temporels, que la Majeſté diuine a mani- | feſté en ladite Conuerſion, & nouuelle | deſcouuerte, par l'entremiſe des Peres de | cet Ordre Seraphique des Freres Minuers [*sic*].

Collation: First and second titles as above, versos blank; Epistre of the translator (signed F. François Paludanus) "a Son Altesse Serenissime, Madame Isabelle Claire, Evgenie, Infante d'Espagne," 8 ll.; advertissement dv Traducteur au Lecteur, 2 ll.; text pp. 1–120. Benavides' signature appears as "Frere Alphonse de Benauides" at the end of the Memorial proper (p. 117).

The copy of the French edition in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence (see pl. xxxix), has a copperplate vignette on the title-page. The copy in the John Gilmary Shea collection of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., however, lacks the vignette, but in its stead is a frame apparently drawn with a pen. The facsimile plate here shown is from a photograph of the title-page of the John Carter Brown copy, kindly furnished by its former librarian, Mr. George Parker Winship. Leclerc (*Bibliotheca Americana*, Paris, 1878) priced a copy of the French *Memorial* at 150 francs.

A Dutch edition was published at Antwerp, also in 1631, with the following title:

REQVESTE | OFT | VERHAEL | D'welck den Eerweerdichſten Pater | Fr. IOANNES DE SANTANDER | Commiſſarius Generael der Min-|derbroeders Orden van Indien | preſenteert aen ſijn Catholijcke | Majeſteyt van Hiſpanien Philippus | den IV. | Door den Eerweerdichſten | Pr. ALPHONSVS DE BENAVIDES | der ſelver Orden Commiſſarius der H. Inqui-|ſitie, ende Cuſtos der Provincie ende Bekee-|ringhen van *Nieuw-Mexico.* | Waer in ghehandelt wort van de Gheeſtelijcke ende | eijtelijcke ſchatten/die de God-delijcke Majeſteyt ver- | openbaert heeft in de voorß. Bekeeringhen ende nieu- | we ontdeckinghen/door t'middel van de Patres deſer | Seraphiſcher Orden der

Minder-broeders. |Met oorlof ghedruckt | *Tot Madrid inde Coninckklijcke Druckerije.* 1630.

T'HANTWERPEN, | By Guilliam Leſteens / woonende inde Hooch-ſtrate inden gulden Pellicaen. Anno 1631.

Collation: Title-page one leaf; "Voor-Reden," signed "Franciscus Paludanus, Provincial vande Provincie van Neder-duytsch-lant," dated Brussels, 2d March, 1631, 5pp.; "Approbatie," 4 unnumbered leaves; text, pp. 1-86. This collation, together with the photograph of the title-page here reproduced in facsimile (pl. xl), were kindly furnished by C. K. Fortiscue, Esquire, of the British Museum, who writes: "The book, which is in excellent condition, was purchased by the Museum on the 8th October, 1863." No copy of the Dutch edition is known to exist in America.

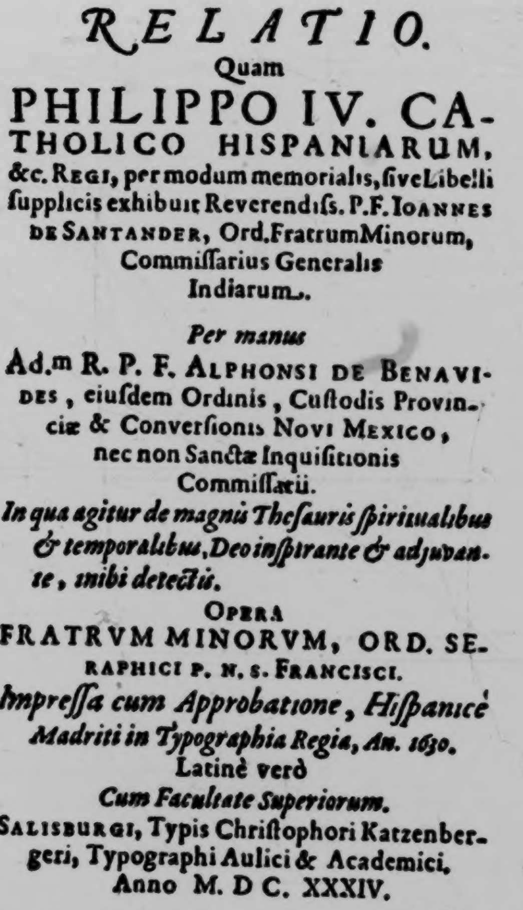
The Latin edition, published at Brussels in 1634, was translated evidently from the French by Jean Gravendonc or Juan Gravenden, or Joannes De Cranendonck, or Cranedonc. It has probably been referred to more than any other edition of the work, and the abbreviation of the title by bibliographers has caused the belief that more than one Latin edition was printed. Following is the title from the Georgetown University copy:

RELATIO | Quam | PHILIPPO IV. CA-|THOLICO HISPANIARUM, | &c. Regi, per modum memorialis, ſive Libelli | ſupplicis exhibuit Reverendiſs. P. F. Ioannes | de Santander, Ord. Fratrum Minorum, | Commiſſarius Generalis | Indiarum. | *Per manus* | Ad.^{m} R. P. F. Alphonsi de Benavi-| des, eiuſdem Ordinis, Cuſtodis Provin-|ciæ & Converſionis Novi Mexico, | nec non Sanctæ Inquiſitionis | Commiſſarii. | *In qua agitur de magnis Theſauris ſpiritualibus* | *& temporalibus, Deo inſpirante & adjuvan-|te, inibi detectis.* | Opera | FRATRVM MINORVM, ORD. SE-| raphici p. n. s. Francisci. | *Impreſſa cum Approbatione, Hiſpanicè* | *Madriti in Typographia Regia, An. 1630.* | Latinè verò | *Cum Facultate Superiorum.*

Salisburgi, Typis Chriſtophori Katzenber-|geri, Typographi Aulici & Academici. | Anno M. D C. XXXIV.

Collation: Title-page verso blank; letter from the translator (signed "Fr. Joannes De Cranendonck, Frater Minor indignus") addressed "Illustrissimo, ac Reverendissimo Domino, Domino Paridi, Archiepiscopo Salisburgensi, Apostolicæ sedis Legato, S. R. I. Principi, &c.", pp. 3-6; præfatio ad lectorem. Necessariò præmittenda, pro intelligentia aliquorum in subjunctâ Narratione contentorum," signed 17. Augusti, 1634, "Fr. Wolffgangus Högner, Minister Provincialis," pp. 7-12; text pp. 13-158. The *Memorial* proper, signed "Fr. Alphonſus de Benavides.", ends on p. 149.

Bartlett, op. cit., says: "There is also a Latin translation by Jean Gravendonc, under the title: 'Relatio . . . in qua agitur de magnis thesauris spiritualibus et temporalibus Deo adjuvante in Novo Mexico detectis.' Salisburgi. 1634. 8°." This is evidently a mistake made in misinterpreting an abbreviated title in some catalogue. Nicolao Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorvm*, Romæ, 1672, t. 1, p. 10, gives the title: "Relationem de magnis Thesauris Spiritualibus & temporalibus Deo adjuvante in Novo Mexico detectis," the translation being attributed to Ioannis Gravendonc. Ternaux [-Compans], *Bibliothèque Américaine*, Paris, 1837, no. 558, notes the work under the title: "De magnis thesauris spiritualibus ac temporalibus in Nova Hispania detectis. Salisburgo. 1634, 8°."—the principal change being in Nova His-



RELATIO.
Quam
PHILIPPO IV. CATHOLICO HISPANIARUM,
&c. Regi, per modum memorialis, ſive Libelli
ſupplicis exhibuit Reverendiſs. P.F. Ioannes
de Santander, Ord. Fratrum Minorum,
Commiſſarius Generalis
Indiarum.

Per manus
Ad.^{m} R. P. F. Alphonsi de Benavides, eiuſdem Ordinis, Cuſtodis Provinciæ & Converſionis Novi Mexico,
nec non Sanctæ Inquiſitionis
Commiſſarii.
In qua agitur de magnis Theſauris ſpiritualibus
& temporalibus, Deo inſpirante & adjuvante, inibi detectis.
Opera
FRATRVM MINORVM, ORD. SERAPHICI P. N. S. FRANCISCI.
Impreſſa cum Approbatione, Hiſpanicè
Madriti in Typographia Regia, An. 1630.
Latinè verò
Cum Facultate Superiorum.
Salisburgi, Typis Chriſtophori Katzenbergeri, Typographi Aulici & Academici.
Anno M. D C. XXXIV.

Plate XLI. Title-page of the Latin Edition of the *Memorial*, 1634

pania for Novo Mexico. Other attempts at recording the title of the Latin edition might be cited, but it is believed that they all represent copies of a single edition and that the verbal inconsistencies are due to inadvertence.

The title-page of the copy in the John Carter Brown Library is here reproduced in facsimile (pl. XLI) from a photograph kindly furnished by Mr. Winship.

In 1633, John de Laet added a short abstract of the *Memorial* to the Latin edition of his *America*, first published in 1625 with the title: Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien . . . Door Ivannes de Laet.—Leyden, 1625. Folio. The Latin edition has the titles: JOANNIS DE LAET / AMERICAE / UTRIUS QUE / DESCRIPTIO. and NOVVS ORBIS / SEU / DESCRIPTIONIS / INDIÆ OCCIDENTALIS / . . . Lvgd. Batav. apud Elzevirios. A°. 1633. Folio. (Half-title and title versos blank; dedication "Caroli I. Magnæ Brittanniæ," 1 leaf; preliminary matter, 13 leaves; text, pp. 1–690; index, 9 leaves; 14 maps.) Cap. XXVI of Liber Quintus, pp. 315–316, is headed "Recentissima Novæ Mexicanæ *descriptio, è commetariis* Alfonsi de Benavides *Franciscani.*" The description is a condensed summary of the geographical information in the *Memorial*, filling a folio page and a half, ending: "Atque hæc compendio de cerpsi è relatione *Alfonsi de Benavides Franciscani*, Madriti typis expressa anno cIↄ Iↄ c xxx."

The chapter appears also in the French translation of Laet: L'HISTOIRE / DV / NOUVEAU MONDE / OU / DESCRIPTION DES INDES / OCCIDENTALES, / Contenant dix-huict Liures, / Par le Sieur IEAN DE LAET, d'Anuers; / . . . Leyde, cIↄ Iↄ c XL. Folio. (Title verso blank; 13 preliminary leaves; text pp. 1–632; table, 6 leaves; 14 maps. "*Nouuelle description de la* Nouuelle Mexique, *selon les Commentaires de* Alfonso de Benauides, *Cordelier*", pp. 233–234.)

The German translation of Benavides bears no date, but as it was printed at Salzburg with the imprint of the publishers of the Latin edition, of which the title is virtually a translation, Bartlett has ascribed it to the year 1634. Following is the title from the John Carter Brown copy, a photograph of which (pl. XLII) was courteously furnished by Mr. Winship:

RELATIO. | Welche Philippo. IV. König | in Hiſpanien, &c. R. P. F. Ioannes de | Santander, S. Franciſci ordens / vber | Indien General Commiſſarius | Durch R. P. F. Alphonſum de | Benavides, deſſelbige Odens/vber die Pro- | uintz deß | Newbekerten Mexico Cuſtoden/vnd | der heyligen Inquiſition Commiſſarium | vbergeben laſſen. | Darinnen gehandlet, wirdt / von großen / | Geiſt- vn weltlichen Schätzen / ſo ſelbiger Lande / | durch fleiß vnd getrewe arbait der Mündern | Brüdern S. Franciſci ordens mitelſt | Götlicher hilff entdecktworden. | Erſtlich zu Madril / in d'Königliche Buch- | truckerey / in Hiſpaniſch / volgents in Latei- | niſch /an jetzo in hochteutſcher ſprach | nachgetruckt. | Cum licentia Superiorum.

In der Ertzbiſchofflichen Hauptſtatt | Saltzburg / durch Chriſtophorum Katzenber- | gern / Hoff-vnd Academiſchen | Buchtruckern.

Title verso blank; "Vorted An den guthertzigenhessr" (signed "F. Wolfgangvs Hegner, Minister Provincialis"), pp. 1–10; text pp. 11–130. The *Memorial* ends with the signature "F. Alphonsus Benavides" on p. 124.

Prior to its serial publication in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, California, from and including vol. XIII, no. 4 (Sept.-Oct., 1900), to vol. XIV, no. 3 (March, 1901), only one attempt had been made to print the *Memorial* in English, notwithstanding its scarcity and its value to Americanists. The late

Dr. John Gilmary Shea made use of the work in his writings pertaining to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, having in his private library the Spanish, Latin, and French editions, which are now in the Shea collection of the library of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. He made an incomplete and imperfect translation into English, the manuscript of which found its way into the possession of Dr. George Henry Moore of New York. In February, 1894, at the sale of Dr. Moore's books, the manuscript was purchased for the Lenox Library and was printed under the title "Memorial on New Mexico in 1626. By Alonso de Benavides," in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November and December, 1899. Twenty-five copies of the translation were printed separately for private distribution.

The ethnological information in the *Memorial* was summarized by Albert Gallatin in his paper "Sur l'ancienne civilisation du Nouveau-Mexique, des bords du Rio Gila et des contrées voisines," in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, n. s., t. XXVII, Paris, 1851, pp. 303–309.

In 1900 the *Memorial* was republished in Spanish in the City of Mexico, in modernized form, as Apéndice Segundo of Tomo II of a *Historia de La Nueva México por el Capitán Gaspar de Villagrá. Empresa por el Museo Nacional de México con un Apéndice de Documentos y Opúsculos.* The title is here given as a specimen of the modernization which prevails throughout the work and through which much of the interest of the latter is lost:

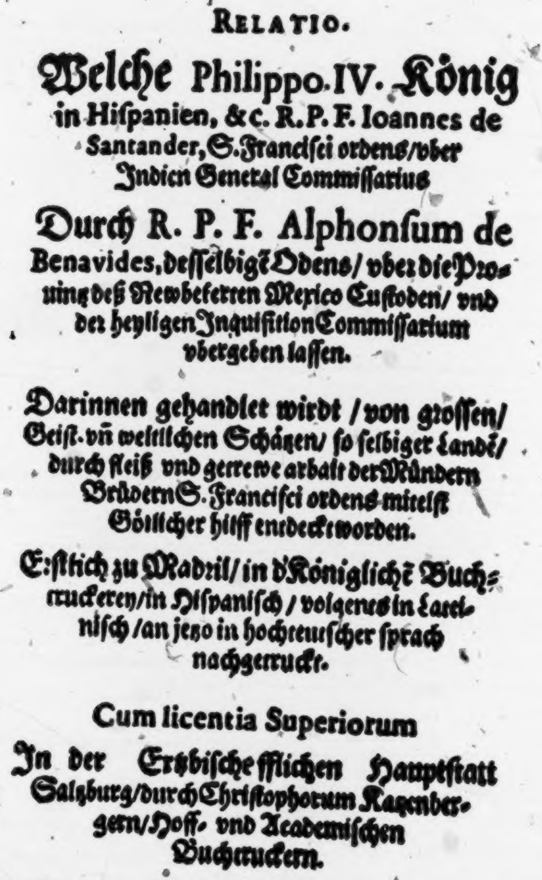
MEMORIAL | QUE | FR. JUAN DE SANTANDER | DE LA ORDEN DE SAN FRANCISCO, COMISARIO | General de Indias, presenta a la Majestad | Catolica del Rey | DON FELIPE CUARTO | Nuestro Señor. | HECHO POR EL PADRE FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, | Comisario del Santo Oficio y Custodio que ha sido | de las Provincias y conversions | del Nuevo Mexico.| TRÁTASE EN ÉL DE LOS TESOROS ESPIRITUALES | y temporales que la Divina Majestad ha manifestado | en aquellas conversiones y nuevos descubri-|mientos por medio de los Padres | de esta seráfica | Religión. |

CON LICENCIA. | En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real. Año M.DC.XXX. REIMPRESO POR EL MUSEO NACIONAL | En su Oficina Tipográfica. Año M.DCCC.XC.IX. | MÉXICO.

This Mexican edition of 1899 (actually published in 1900) is reprinted in Benjamin Maurice Read's *Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico*, app. 1, pp. 405–437, Santa Fe, 1911, and an English translation by Eleuterio Baca appears in the same author's *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, pp. 657–714, Santa Fe, 1912.

F. W. H.

3. Don Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio, third Marqués de Cerralbo, of noble and illustrious lineage, was born in Spain in the latter part of the sixteenth century; married Doña Francisca de la Cueva, daughter of the sixth Duque de Alburquerque, who died in Mexico in 1631; he was appointed fifteenth Viceroy of New Spain by Philip IV to succeed Don Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel, Conde de Priego, Marqués de Gelves, who precipitated a popular uprising as the result of a quarrel with the Archbishop on a question of jurisdiction. The Marqués de Cerralbo assumed charge November 2, 1624, and continued as Viceroy until September 16, 1635, when, owing to ill health, he was succeeded by Lope Díez (or Díaz) de Armendáriz, Marqués de Cadereita. In 1629 the



RELATIO.

Welche Philippo. IV. König
in Hiſpanien, &c. R. P. F. Ioannes de
Santander, S. Franciſci ordens/ vber
Indien General Commiſſarius

Durch R. P. F. Alphonſum de
Benavides, deſſelbigẽ Odens/ vber die Pro-
uinz deß Newbekerten Mexico Cuſtoden/ vnd
der heyligen Inquiſition Commiſſarium
vbergeben laſſen.

Darinnen gehandlet wirdt / von groſſen/
Geiſt. vñ weltlichen Schätzen/ ſo ſelbiger Landẽ/
durch fleiß vnd getrewe arbait der Mündern
Brüdern S. Franciſci ordens mitelſt
Göttlicher hilff entdeckt worden.

Erſtlich zu Madril/ in d' Königlichẽ Buch-
truckerey/ in Hiſpaniſch / volgends in Latei-
niſch / an jetzo in hochteutſcher ſprach
nachgetruckt.

Cum licentia Superiorum

In der Ertzbiſchefflichen Hauptſtatt
Saltzburg/ durch Chriſtophorum Katzenber-
gern/ Hoff- vnd Academiſchen
Buchtruckern.

PLATE XLII. TITLE-PAGE OF THE GERMAN EDITION OF THE *Memorial* (ca. 1634)

City of Mexico was inundated, but the Marqués relieved much suffering by personally distributing food to the needy by means of a canoe. He died in Valladolid, Spain, about the middle of the century. The town of Cerralvo in Nuevo León had its origin in a fort established by the Marqués in 1635. An island off the southeastern coast of Lower California, lat. 24° 10′, was also named in his honor. The title was created February 2, 1533, by Carlos V in recognition of the services to the Crown of the first Don Rodrigo Pacheco; it still exists in Spain, where it is held in high esteem. A portrait of the Viceroy, painted in 1624, hangs in the Museo Nacional in the City of Mexico. F. W. H.

4. "More than thirty years." — It was considerably more than thirty years prior to 1627, the date of the cedula; in fact eighty-six years had expired since the first missionary efforts of the Franciscans were made in New Mexico, although the first two attempts at Christianizing the natives resulted in the murder of the friars. The first of these enterprises was conducted by Fray Juan de Padilla, Fray Juan de la Cruz, and Fray Luis Descalona, de Escalona, or de Ubeda, all of whom were members of the expedition of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, and who were left in New Mexico in 1542 on the departure of the army for New Spain. Padilla proceeded to the province of Quivira—the Wichita country of Kansas—consequently his labors were beyond the limits of the Pueblo region in which the others were actually employed, although he met a similar fate November 30, 1544. Juan de la Cruz was left at Tiguex, at or near the present Bernalillo, New Mexico, where he was killed November 25 or 30, 1542. Fray Luis, a lay brother, went to Cicuyé (Pecos), and as he was never afterward heard from, there is little doubt that he was killed by the natives of that pueblo (see notes 22, 29, 72). It is possible that the "beginning of the conversion" to which the King referred in his order to the Viceroy was that made in 1581 by Fray Agustin Rodriguez, or Ruiz, or Ayamonte, with Juan de Santa Maria and Francisco López, under escort of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado with twelve soldiers and some Christian Tlaxcaltec Indians. These friars established themselves at Puaray, the Tiguex pueblo of Coronado, at or near which village, according to varying authorities, they were murdered by the Indians before the close of the year. For extended references to these early missionary efforts, see Bandelier, "Fray Juan de Padilla, the First Catholic Missionary and Martyr in Eastern Kansas" (*Amer. Catholic Quarterly Review*, Phila., July, 1890, XV, 551–565); Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542" (*Fourteenth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1896, pp. 400–401), and works cited therein; Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano*, reprint, Mexico, 1871; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 2 vols., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911. Bancroft (*History of Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 75–80, 130, 158, 188) gives various references in early literature to the fate of Rodriguez and his companions. For an allusion to the missionary labors of the priests who accompanied Juan de Oñate about the close of the sixteenth century, see note 6. F. W. H.

5. The Province of the Holy Evangel was founded by the Franciscan Order, originally as a *custódia*, at the City of Mexico in 1524, its first Father Custodian being Padre Fray Martin Valencia. By 1590 there were three Franciscan *provincias* in Mexico, that of the original Santo Evangélio at the capital, San

Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacan, and San José de Yucatan. The Província del Santo Evangélio was of such importance during the second quarter of the sixteenth century that the provinces of Peru and Guatemala, as well as of Cuba and Florida, were under its jurisdiction. In 1596 the three provinces had ninety monasteries, and by 1612 there were 172 monasteries and religious houses in the three provinces named and those of Nueva Galicia and Zacatecas, which had subsequently been founded. C. F. L.

6. Their names are not recorded, but it is probable that Martin de Arvide, Juan de Salas, Diego López, Diego Ortega, Aséncio de Zárate, Cristóbal de Quiros, and Pedro de Miranda were among the number. Fray Gerónimo de Pedraza made his vows December 2, 1608, and it is possible that he also was one of Benavides' companions. In this connection it is interesting to know the names of the Franciscans who served their cause in New Mexico from the time Juan de Oñate made his entry into the province in 1598. The list is by no means complete, but it may aid future research into the history of the first permanent missions established in New Mexico.

Antonio de Aranda. Served at Santa Cruz de Galisteo prior to the Rebellion of 1680, possibly prior to Benavides' time (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 323, ed. 1871).

Martin de Arvide, b. Puerto de San Sebastian, Cantabria; made his vows in the Convento de San Francisco, Mexico, June 2, 1612; went to New Mexico, where he was assigned to Picurís. Learning that the Jemez had deserted their pueblos and were roaming in the mountains, he obtained permission from Benavides and Governor Zotylo to reëstablish them and to restore peace, which he accomplished, remaining with them for several years from 1622. In 1632 he departed for the unknown country of the Zipias, beyond Zuñi, visiting Fray Francisco de Letrado (see note 8) at Hawikuh, one of the Zuñi villages, en route. Before reaching the Zipias he was slain by treacherous Zuñis, February 27, Letrado having been murdered five days before (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 52–53, 75, ed. 1871. See also Bandelier, "Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, III, Boston, 1892). It is shown in a subsequent note (8) that the year of Arvide's death must have been 1632, not 1630.

Nicolás de Chavarría. Mentioned by Vetancurt (*Menologio*, 209, ed. 1871) in connection with Fr. Juan de Escalona, q.v.

Juan Cabal. Associated with Fr. García de San Francisco y Zúñiga at the El Paso mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe prior to 1659. He may not have been in the province in Benavides' time (see Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 24, ed. 1871).

Pedro Carrescal. Mentioned as being in New Mexico by Vetancurt (*Menologio*, 293, 1871); he returned to Mexico, where he died August 28, 1622. Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 154) states that Carrescal was perhaps a member of Escalona's party, Oñate's expedition of 1604.

Juan Claros. Went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598, being assigned to the Tigua province, including the pueblos of Napeya (= Napfia = Sandia), Puaráy, Mohoqui (Moqui), Qualacú, Teypamá, "y últimamente Trenaquel de la mesilla" (i.e., down the Rio Grande), with many others. Claros returned to Mexico in 1601, while Oñate was exploring the plains.

Andrés Corchada. Went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598, being assigned to the province of the Trias (=Tsia=Sia?) and the pueblos of Tamaya (Santa Ana), the province of Acoma, the province of Truni (Zuñi), and the province of Mohoce (Moqui). Corchada returned to Mexico in 1601.

Agustin de Cuellar. Mentioned by Vetancurt (*Menologio*, 209, 1871) in connection with Fr. Juan de Escalona (q.v.). He was also a member of Fr. Estevan de Perea's party of 1628–29, and was joint author with Roque de Figueredo (q.v.) of a manuscript on the *Fundaciones que del Orden Seráfico en el Nuevo México, con las Vidas y Martirios de los ilustres Varones apostólicos de aquella Custodia, Fr. Martin Arbide y Fr. Francisco Letrado, del año de 24 y 29*" (Vetancurt in *Teatro Mexicano*, I, xxiv; Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano Americano Setentrional*, I, 368, 443). The dates given are erroneous. Arvide and Letrado were killed in February, 1632. See note 8.

Juan de Escalona. Once a guardian of the monastery of Quauhquecholan (San Martin de Huaquechula), Mexico; joined Oñate's force in New Mexico in 1599, succeeding Fr. Alonso Martinez as *Comisário*, which office he evidently retained until 1605, when he was succeeded by Francisco de Escobar. An interesting account of Escalona appears in Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 207, 1871, in Zárate Salmerón, *Relación* (*Land of Sunshine*, February 1900, p. 185, ¶ 126), and in Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, III, 598, 1723. See his *Carta* in Torquemada, I, 673–75, 1723, also Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 299, ed. 1871. Escalona died and was buried in the church built by him at Santo Domingo, June 22, 1607.

Francisco de Escobar. Went to New Mexico probably in 1604, in October of which year he accompanied Oñate as *Comisário* on his journey to the Gulf of California, and in the year following succeeded Escalona as Custodian of the province. He is said to have written a narrative of the expedition. He died in New Mexico. (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 300, 1871; *Teatro Mexicano*, I, 263, 1871; Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 678, 1723; Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*, 93.)

Roque de Figueredo. Mentioned by Beristain y Souza (*Biblioteca*, 2ª ed., I, 442) as a "religioso franciscano de la provincia del Santo Evangelio, y misionero en el Nuevo México. Acompañó el año 1604, al capitan general, D. Juan de Oñate, en la expedicion á aquellas provincias; y escribió [1] 'Relación del viage al Nuevo México.' [2] 'Libro de las fundaciones cristianas del Nuevo México, y vidas de los Varones ilustres de aquella Custodia.' Citan estos opúsculos; que parece se guardan en el archivo del convento grande de S. Francisco de México, Betancur, Barcia y Pinelo." It will be seen that Fray Roque was also a member of Perea's band of missionaries. See also CUELLAR. Bandelier (*Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, 93) states that Figueredo did not accompany Oñate, and Bancroft does not include him in his list of Oñate's associates in 1598, but this is no indication that Fray Roque did not join Oñate later. See note 8.

Francisco. A lay brother who accompanied Oñate to New Mexico in 1598. See Villagran, *Historia de la Nueva México*, canto xi.

Juan de Dios. A lay brother who accompanied Oñate to New Mexico in 1598, later settling at Pecos. See Villagran, *Historia de la Nueva México*, canto xi; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124, 132.

Lope Izquierdo. Joined Oñate's expedition, evidently under Escalona in 1599. Returned to Mexico in 1601 during Oñate's absence on the plains.

Diego López. Mentioned by Benavides in his account of the "Miraculous Conversion of the Xumana Nation" (p. 58). He was a companion of Fr. Juan de Salas at Isleta in 1629, and accompanied him on his journey to the Jumanos. He is called also Dídaco Lopez (Bancroft, *North Mex. States*, I, 385; see also his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 163; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 302, ed. 1871).

Alonso de Lugo. Accompanied Oñate to New Mexico in 1598, being assigned to the Jemez pueblos and certain nomadic tribes to the westward, but returned to Mexico in 1601.

Bernardo de Marta. Went to New Mexico in 1605; died at Sia, September 18, 1635. (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 328, ed. 1871.)

Martin. A lay brother who accompanied Oñate to New Mexico in 1598. See Villagran, *Historia de la Nueva México*, canto xi.

Alonzo Martinez. Accompanied Oñate to New Mexico in 1598 as *Comisário;* returned to Mexico for more friars in March, 1599, and there remained. He was succeeded by Juan de Escalona, q.v.

Pedro de Miranda (surnamed Avila). Killed at Taos, together with his two soldiers, December 28, 1631. (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 414, ed. 1871; *Crónica*, 319.) See note 35.

Diego Ortega. Went with Juan de Salas in 1632 to the Jumano, remaining six months (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 385). It is not certain that he was in New Mexico in Benavides' time, nor is he mentioned among the Perea band.

Gerónimo de Pedraza. Native of the City of Mexico, where he made his profession, December 2, 1608. Died in the monastery at San Felipe, N. M., May 5, 1664 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 144; *Crónica*, 315, ed. 1871).

Alonso Peinado. *Comisário* of New Mexico, *ca.* 1608–14 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 383, ed. 1871), succeeding Escobar, and taking with him eight or nine new friars. He converted the pueblo of Chililí, where he died after 1617 (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt II, p. 256).

Antonio Peinado. Mention is made by Duro (*Don Diego de Peñalosa*, 132) of an "Expedición del P. Fr. Antonio Peinado á la provincia de Moqui," in 1628, a manuscript account of which is preserved in the Real Académia de la Históría (A.146, Est. 23, gr. 6). As there is no other allusion to Fray Antonio, it is possible that the name is a misprint for Alonso.

Gaston de Peralta. Joined Oñate's colony, evidently under Escalona in 1599. Returned to Mexico in 1601.

Francisco Pérez. Associated with Fr. Francisco García de San Francisco y Zúñiga at the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, El Paso, prior to 1659. He may not have been in the province in Benavides' time. (See Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 24, ed. 1871.)

Cristóbal de Quiñones. Probably a member of Oñate's colony, 1598–1604. Established the church, hospital, and monastery at San Felipe, mastering the Queres language. Died there April 27, 1609. (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 137; *Crónica*, 315, ed. 1871.)

Cristóbal de Quiros. Known to have been an associate of Benavides, as it was he whom Maria de Jesús described during Benavides' visit to her in Spain in 1631, and whom she claimed to have helped in baptizing the natives. Quiros succeeded Perea as Custodian in 1635 or 1636.

Juan de Rosas. Went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598, being assigned to the province of the Cheres (Queres), with the pueblos of Castixes (San Felipe), Santo Domingo, Cochiti, San Marcos, Sant Chripstobal (San Cristóbal), Santa Ana (Galisteo), Quipana, and others. He returned to Mexico in 1601.

Juan de Salas. Possibly went to New Mexico with Benavides or during his custodianship, for in 1629 he departed from his mission of Isleta, whose *convento* he had erected, to visit the Jumano (q.v.), and in 1632 he again visited them with Fray Diego Ortega. In 1643 he was priest at Cuarac (Cuaraí, Quarrá, Quaraí). See notes 53, 54, and consult Benavides under his description of the "Miraculous Conversion of the Xumana Nation" (p. 58); Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, pp. 233, 261; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 311. A Juan de Salas, or Salazar, was provincial at Jalisco and Michoacan, Mexico, in 1603–1607; he was possibly the same. (See *Crónica de la Provincia Franciscana de los Apostóles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, escrita por el R. P. Fr. Isidro Félix de Espinosa; la publica por vez primera el Dr. Nicolas León*, México, 1899, pp. 563–564.)

Cristóbal de Salazar. Went to New Mexico with Oñate (his cousin), in 1598; but died early in 1599 on his way back to Mexico for more friars (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 147; Oñate, Copia de Carta, 2 de Marzo, 1599, *Doc. de Indias*, XVI, 313). While in New Mexico he was assigned the province of the Tewa, including San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, "Sant Francisco de los Españoles" (San Gabriel, the first Spanish settlement in the West), and others (Oñate in *Doc. de Indias*, XVI, 116; Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 673).

Pedro Salmerón. Perhaps a member of Escobar's party, Oñate's expedition of 1604 (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 154, 157). His "Diario de la entrada en el Nuevo Méjico, dirigido á los prelados de su orden," is cited without date by Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa*, 146.

Juan de San Buenaventura. A lay brother and a member of Oñate's colony of 1598; probably returned to Mexico in 1601, but went again to New Mexico, as he was with Oñate on his expedition of 1604. (Zárate Salmerón, translation, op. cit., 47. See also Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124, 151, 154.)

Francisco de San Miguel. Accompanied Oñate in 1598, and was assigned the province of Pecos, the Vaqueros Indians [Mescalero and Jicarilla Apache] of the plains, the pueblos of the Gran Salina east of the Rio Grande, the Jumano, and others. He returned to Mexico with other friars in 1601 (Oñate in *Doc. de Indias*, XVI, 113). See his letter relating to the expedition in Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 676–678, 1723. Consult Bancroft, op. cit., and Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 321, 331.

Francisco de Velasco. Joined the colony of Oñate, his cousin, in 1599 or 1600; accompanied him on his expedition from New Mexico to the plains in 1601, and probably on another expedition northward from Santa Fe in 1604. He evidently succeeded Escobar as *Comisário* about 1607, and is seemingly the Francisco de Velasco who was *Lector Jubilado* of the Província del Santo Evangêlio Mexicano at least between August 1629 and July 1634. (See Zárate Salmerón, op. cit., 45; Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 678, Madrid, 1723; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 478; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 21, 149, 151, 154, 157.) According to Vetancurt, Velasco the Father Provincial was born in Tecamachalco. The same authority (*Crónica*, 323) gives the name "Francisco" to Fernando de Velasco who was murdered at Pecos in the rebellion of 1680, but it is correctly given in the *Menologio*. The two priests are of course not to be confused.

Pedro de Vergara. Born at Vergara, Cantabria; son of Lorenzo de la Harraga and Juana de Vergara; made his vows at Mexico City, June 2, 1595, and went with Oñate's colony to New Mexico, in 1598, as a lay friar. With Velasco he accompanied Oñate to the plains in 1601. Died in Mexico, May, 1646. See Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 155; *Zárate Salmerón*, cited below, 45; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124, 147.

Francisco de Zamora. A member of Oñate's expedition of 1598. To him were assigned the care of the Picurís province, the Apache and Navaho of the "snowy mountains" of northern New Mexico, and Taos and other pueblos in that territory. (See Oñate in *Doc. de Indias*, xvi, 114.) He returned to Mexico in 1601.

Aséncio de Zárate. Served and was buried at Picurís in 1632 (see Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 318; Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, 163). His remains were removed to Santa Fe, April 8, 1759, and on August 31 were reinterred in the Parróquia (Defouri, *Martyrs of New Mexico*, 72; Defouri, *Catholic Church in New Mexico*, 146).

Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón. Went to New Mexico about 1617, serving chiefly at Jemez, and also at Sia, Sandia, and Acoma. He returned to Mexico in 1626, and wrote his *Relaciónes de Nuevo México* some years later, since he mentions Perea's custodianship therein (*Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3 ser., iv, translated and published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Nov. 1899 to Feb. 1900). He is credited with the baptism of 6,566 Jemez Indians alone. He prepared a catechism in the Jemez language. A manuscript copy of Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciónes* is contained in vol. 1, Historia, of the Archivo General of Mexico (Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, 20–22, Washington, 1913), and another copy is in the archives of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (ibid., 235). F. W. H.

7. The Royal Council of the Indies was an important body created in 1511 by Ferdinand the Catholic for the organization and administration of affairs in the colonies arising from the discovery. Its scope was enlarged by Charles V and succeeding Spanish rulers until its influence and power over the vast colonial possessions were next only to that of the crown. It enacted laws, regulated Indian affairs; nominated viceroys, archbishops, and other administrative and ecclesiastical officials; appointed the *Audiencias* which were the supreme criminal courts of the colonies, and itself formed the court of final appeal in civil cases—in fact it was together the legislative, executive, and judicative body of the colonies. A few years after the organization of the council, Madrid became its permanent seat. F. W. H.

8. Most fortunately we are enabled to record a list of twenty of the twenty-nine missionaries who accompanied Perea. This is made possible through the wisdom, it is believed, of Buckingham Smith, who was secretary of the United States legation at Madrid in 1855–58, and to whom may be attributed the reproduction, in facsimile, of what is probably an entirely unique copy of a quarto work of four unnumbered leaves, published under the following titles: *Verdadera* [-*Segunda*] | *Relacion, de la Gran-*|*diosa Conversion*

que ha avido en el | Nuevo Mexico. Embiada por el Padre Fray Eſtevan de Perea, Cuſtodio | de las Provincias del Nuevo Mexico, al muy Reverendo P. Fr. Franciſco | de Apodaca, Comiſſario General de toda la Nueva España, de la | Orden de S. Franciſco, dandole cuonta [sic] *del eſtado de aquellas | cõverſiones, y en particular de lo ſucedido en el deſpacho | que ſe hizo para aquellas partes.* | ¶ *Con licencia del Señor Proviſor, y del ſeñor Alcalde Don Alonſo de Bolaños.* | *Impreſſo en Sevilla, por Luys Eſtupiñan, en la Calle delas Palmas. Año de 1632* [-1633]. The title of the second part varies from that of the first in several typographical particulars. The title of the original is given, in modernized form, by Captain Cesáreo Fernández Duro in his "Don Diego de Peñalosa y su Descubrimiento del Reino de Quivira" (*Colección de Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tomo x, Madrid, 1882; issued also separately, page 133) with the statement that the work forms a part of tomo 86, "Papeles varios de jesuitas," in the Real Acadêmia de la Históría, "folios 578 y 580." The facsimile alluded to was procured by the present writer from Mr. Noah Farnham Morrison, of Newark, New Jersey (now of Elizabeth, N. J.), who, under date of April 20, 1901, wrote as follows regarding the person at whose instance the reproduction was made: "I have been given to understand that the gentleman was Buckingham Smith, but do not put it down until I have more positive information." However, that the original copy in the archives of the Acadêmia de la Históría is the one from which the facsimile was reproduced there can be no doubt, as the latter bears, also in facsimile, on the verso of each folio, the handwritten numerals 578 to 581, respectively, appearing in the original copy mentioned. In his annotation Captain Duro erred in ascribing only leaves "578 y 580" to a work containing, as he states, "cuatro hojas folio." So far as known a copy of the original edition has never been utilized as a historical source by an American student, although its existence is mentioned (after Duro) by H. H. Bancroft (*Hist. Ariz. and N. Mex.*, 166, note), while Vetancurt in his "Descripcion Breve" (*Teatro Mexicano*, I, p. xxi, Mexico, 1870) merely mentions the book as a "Relacion del Nuevo-México, impresa, año de 1630," and Ternaux [-Compans] (*Bibliothèque Américaine*, no. 516, Paris, 1837) notes the same work. Beristain y Souza was not aware of the *Verdadera Relación* of Perea, but, on the authority of Betancur [Vetancurt] and Barcia, he mentions (*Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional*, 2ª ed., Amecameca, 1883, tomo II, p. 417) a work by that author under the title, "*Historia de la Conversion de los Indios Jumanes del Nuevo México: dedicada al Illmo. Arzobispo de México, Dr. D. Francisco Manso*, é Imp. en 1630. 4." A facsimile in the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, identical to the one above referred to and procured from the same source, was consulted by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes in connection with his memoir on "An Archeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895" (*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pt. 2, p. 599 et seq.). A translation of the *Verdadera Relación*, with a reduced facsimile of the first page of both the parts, was published in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Nov., Dec., 1901; and a reduced facsimile of the first page of the first part, from the copy belonging to F. W. Hodge, appears as a plate in R. E. Twitchell's *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 354, 1911.

The thirty missionaries referred to by Santander (including Padre Fray Estevan de Perea, the newly appointed Custodian of the province of New Mexico), escorted by twelve soldiers, left the City of Mexico, September 4, 1628; rested at the Valle de San Bartolomé in southern central Chihuahua, and continued across the wilderness of 150 leagues, reaching the Rio Grande April 7, 1629, and Santa Fe at Easter. The procurador, or solicitor, Padre Fray Martin Gonçalez (Perea's orthography is preserved), died a day before the party reached Robledo, which marked the beginning of the terrible Jornada del Muerto, north of El Paso (see note 16). Of the religious force mentioned, nineteen priests, two lay religious, and the military escort were provided at the expense of the King, and nine priests at the cost of the *Provincia*. Of the missionaries the following names, besides those of the Custodian and Padre Gonçalez, are recorded in Perea's *Relación:* To the Humanas, Pyros, and Tõpiros (Jumanos, Piros, and Tompiros): Padre Fray Antonio de Artiaga (Arteaga), predicador, Fr. Francisco de la Cõcepcion, Fr. Thomas de S. Diego (lector de theologia), Fr. Frãcisco de Letrado, Fr. Diego de la Fuẽte, Fr. Frãcisco de Azebedo (priests), Fr. Garcia de S. Francisco and Fr. Diego de S. Lucas (lay religious). To the nation of the Apaches of Quinia and Manases (escorted by Governor Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto and twenty soldiers): P. Fr. Bartholome Romero (lector de theologia) and Fr. Frãcisco Muñoz (predicador). To Acoma: P. Fr. Juan Ramirez. To Zuñi (via Acoma, leaving Santa Fe, June 22, accompanied by the Governor and thirty soldiers): P. Fr. Roque de Figueredo, Fr. Augustin de Cuellar (priest), and Fr. Francisco de la Madre de Dios (lay religious). Three of the soldiers remained at this pueblo (one of them was probably the Juan Gonzales who left his inscription with the date "1629" on El Morro); the remainder, except twelve, leaving Zuñi about July 27 (see pl. xliii), returned with the Governor, the Custodian (Perea), and his companions (including P. Fr. Thomas Manso, the new *Predicador*) to Santa Fe. To Moqui: P. Fr. Francisco de Porras, Andres Gutierres or Gutierrez (priest), Christoval de la Concepcion (lay religious), and twelve soldiers.

After the death of Gonçalez it will be seen that Fr. Thomas Manso became the Father Solicitor. Fr. Francisco de San Buenaventura, a lay religious, is also mentioned, and it is learned from Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 213, that he also was assigned to Moqui and was present at the death of Porras. Thus are accounted for all but nine of the thirty new missionaries. A word concerning those who are otherwise known to history will prove of interest:

Estevan de Perea. Founded the church and monastery at Sandia, where he was buried (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 312, 1871). See plate iii. Succeeded as Custodian, about 1635 or 1636, by P. Fr. Cristóbal Quiros (see Bandelier, Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe, *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, iii, 101, Boston, 1892). It is intimated by Zárate Salmerón (Relación, trans. in *Land of Sunshine*, Nov. 1899, p. 341) that Perea was Commissary in 1614, succeeding Fr. Alonso Peinado, or 33 years after the death of Fray "Juan" (Francisco) López in 1581, and that he reinterred the bones of the latter in Sandia. No other evidence has been found that Perea served in New Mexico prior to 1629.

Antonio de Arteaga. A Capuchin monk; founded, with García de San Francisco y Zúñiga, the mission of Senecú, on the Rio Grande, in 1630 (1629?), and introduced the grape into New Mexico. See Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 309, 1871, who says of Senecú: "En una montaña de escollos pedregosa, el año de 630, fué hecha la conversion de los indios de Senecú por el reverendo padre fray Antonio de Arteaga, provincial que fué de la Provincia santa de los descalzos de San Diego, y un templo y convento á San Antonio de Padua dedicado.

Dejó allí á su compañero el venerable padre fray García de Zúñiga, alias de San Francisco, que lo adornó de órgano y ornamentos ricos, y una huerta, donde cogia uvas de sus viñas y hacia vino que repartia â los demas conventos." Later, "encouraged by his success in converting the Pueblo Indians, Arteaga undertook to bring the Mansos into the fold of the church, and with so much success that the neighboring Indians, encouraged by the example of the Mansos, also sought instruction and were baptized by the missionary" (Anne E. Hughes, "The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District," *University of California Publications in History*, vol 1, no. 3, p. 304, Berkeley, 1914. Miss Hughes bases her information on Medina, *Chrónica de la Santa Província de San Diego de México* (1682), which is not accessible to the present writer). For further information concerning the introduction of the grape into New Mexico, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. i, p. 210; pt. ii, p. 248.

Francisco de la Concepción. Was priest at the pueblo of Isleta in 1636 (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. ii, p. 203).

Francisco de Letrado. Born at Talavera de la Reina, Spain; went to Mexico, but finding the natives converted, proceeded to New Mexico with Perea; was assigned to the Jumano, east of the Rio Grande, building a church and a house for the priests. Later he was sent to the Zuñi, where two churches were established — one at Hawikuh, where Letrado was stationed (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 321), the other at Halona. Learning of a tribe known as the Zipias (called "Tsipiakwe" by the Zuñi), living to the westward, he applied for permission to go among them, but was refused, Fray Martin de Arvide (see note 6) being sent in his stead. On Sunday, February 22, 1632 (a hundred years to a day before Washington was born), the Indians appeared to delay in attending mass. Fray Francisco, impatient, and probably of a fiery and zealous nature, went out to urge them. He met some idolaters, and began to chide them. He saw at once that they were bent on killing him, so he knelt down, holding in his hands a small crucifix, and continued the remonstrance while in this attitude. The Indians shot him dead with arrows, carried off the corpse and scalped it, parading the scalp afterward at the usual dances. (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 320–321, 1871; *Menologio*, pp. 52–53; Bandelier, *Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, pp. 96–97.) As evidenced by an inscription on El Morro, or "Inscription Rock," some 35 miles east of Zuñi, on the road to Acoma, first given in terribly garbled form by General James H. Simpson (after a drawing by R. H. Kern) in *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st session*, Washington, 1850, pl. 68, and later illustrated by Charles F. Lummis in his *Strange Corners*, N. Y., 1892, p. 180, almost immediate steps were taken to avenge Letrado's death. Francisco de la Mora Ceballos, Governor at the time, dispatched to Zuñi a handful of soldiers under the Maestro de Campo, Tomás de Albizú, together with a few priests. Stopping at Inscription Rock, one Lujan, a soldier with a talent for petrography, carved the following, which was still in a remarkably good state of preservation in 1912 when a paper impression thereof was made by F. W. Hodge.

Se	*pasaron*	*á*	*23*	*de*	*Marzo*	*de*	*1632*	*años*
They	passed	on the	23	of	March	of	1632	years

á la	*Benganza*	*de*	*Muerte*	*del*	*Padre*	*Letrado.*
to the	avenging	of the	death	of the	Father	Letrado.

For a comparison of this with the "copy" made in 1849 for General Simpson, see Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 376 et seq., and accompanying plates. See also, for other illustrations and translations, Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*, pp. 180–181, fig. 9, New York, 1911; Hoopes and Broomall in *Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science*, vol. I, no. 1, Media, Pa., October 1905.

There has been much discussion in regard to the actual year in which Letrado was so brutally murdered at Zuñi. The evidence in favor of both 1630 and 1632 has been ably presented by Bandelier (*Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, p. 98 et seq.), but since Perea's *Relación* has been brought to light, showing that Letrado was not the first missionary to the Zuñi pueblos, and that it must have taken Letrado more than a year to build the church for the Jumano and to baptize the members of that tribe, there is little doubt that the year was 1632 and that the avenging party was sent from Santa Fe as soon as the news reached the capital, rather than two years later. Vetancurt (*Menologio*, 52–53) records February 22, 1632, as the date of Letrado's death. His account of Letrado is as follows: "El venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado, natural de Talavera de la Reina, hijo de la Santa Provincia de Castilla, pasó con deseo de convertir almas para Dios á la Provincia del Santo Evangelio; y viendo que estaban convertidos, decia que su intento principal era buscar que convertir, y así pasó al Nuevo-México el año de 1628 con los treinta religiosos que fueron á la conversion. Entró en la nueva conversion de los humanas; bautizó á muchos; edificó iglesia y morada para religioso; y habiendo oido decir que en Zuni (provincia populosa) habia que convertir, pidió el pasar á ella, donde juntó en cinco pueblos muchos infieles que catequizó y bautizó. Estando ya instruidos, no le permitia su fervor dejar de buscar nuevas conversiones: pidió licencia para pasar á los Zipias; y pareciéndole al custodio que seria de mas servicio á Dios que acabase la obra empezada donde estaba, no le concedió la licencia. Envió al padre fray Martin de Arvide, que pasando por allí le quedó el padre Letrado muy envidioso, y le rogaba le dejase despachar al prelado para la permuta; pero Dios nuestro Señor, que dispone las cosas segun sus investigables juicios, permitió que se quedase el uno, y se fuese, por la obediencia, el otro, para darles la corona á entrambos. Un domingo de cuaresma, viendo que tardaban algunos en venir á misa, salió á buscarlos: encontró con unos idólatras, y encendido en fervor les empezó á predicar; y viendo se conjuraban á quitarle la vida, con un Cristo pintado en una cruz que traía al cuello para su defensa, puesto de rodillas y encomendándose al Señor, murió predicando, flechado. No fué hallado su cuerpo de los soldados cristianos, porque los bárbaros se lo llevaron, quitándole de la cabeza la piel para sus bailes gentílicos. Deseando tener alguna reliquia, vieron que por el aire cayó en manos de los soldados una cuerda, que la dividieron en pedazos. Padeció á 22 de Febrero del año de 1632."

Francisco de Acevedo. Native of Sevilla, Spain, son of Gonzalo García del Terrero and Isabel de Vargas. Received the habit of his order in the Convento de México, January 10, 1625. Built the churches at Abó, Tenabó, and Tabirá, after his assignment to the Piro by Perea; died and was buried at Abó, August 1, 1644 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 260, ed. 1871. See also Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 273, 274, 290). Information regarding these and other missions is given in subsequent notes.

García de San Francisco y Zúñiga. Founded the mission and baptized the natives at Nuestra Señora del Socorro, furnishing the church with rich ornaments and installing an organ; associated with Fray Antonio de Arteaga, he planted a vineyard, thus introducing into New Mexico the first grapes. On December 8, 1659, with the assistance of Fr. Francisco de Salazar, he laid the foundation of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe among the Mansos and Sumas at El Paso, the first buildings consisting of "a little church of branches and mud and a monastery thatched with straw." A certified copy, made in 1663, of an account of the founding of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe from Father García's own pen, in the form of an entry in the administration books of the mission, still exists in the archives of the Church of Guadalupe at Juarez. A translation of this document is given by Anne E. Hughes in "The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District" (*University of California Publications in History*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 306–307, Berkeley, 1914). Miss Hughes states that "the temporary mission buildings erected by García were soon replaced by more substantial structures," and on April 2, 1662, he blessed the "first foundation stone and foundations of the church of this conversion and congregation of the Mansos of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Passo, patron and titular of said church" (ibid., p. 307). The church was dedicated January 15, 1668, when, in the presence of the Governor, the Custodian, and a large concourse, García baptized a hundred Indians. In all, according to Vetancurt (*Menologio*, pp. 24–25, 1871), he baptized more than ten thousand persons. Fray García was still at El Paso in 1671, his signature last appearing in the baptismal record under date of September 8 of that year. He died January 22, 1673, at the pueblo of Senecú, New Mexico, where he was buried. See Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 308–309, ed. 1871; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 248, 262, 1892; Hughes, op. cit., pp. 308–309.

Tomás de San Diego. Native of Cadiz, a Barefoot Friar of the Province of San Diego of Mexico, where he professed, November 23, 1614. He spent many years as a missionary in New Mexico, where he was guardian and *Definador* of the province; died in the monastery of Oaxaca, September 29, 1658 (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 161, 1889, says he died in 1659). Fr. Tomás wrote "Procesos originales hechos por comision de los Señores Obispos de la Nueva España sobre las vidas de quince Religiosos venerables del Orden de S. Francisco," a manuscript of 400 pages in the archives of San Diego de México; also "Ilustracion á los MS. de Fr. Bartolomé Burguillos sobre el comercio y minas de la Nueva España: y sobre el carácter de sus habitantes." MS. See Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional*, I, 386, 1883.

Bartholomé Romero. Possibly the Bartolomé López Romero whose name is inscribed on El Morro as recorded by Lummis (*Strange Corners*, p. 162), or the "Bar^{me} Romelo," 1641, as given on plate 65 of Simpson's *Report*, op. cit. If this should prove to be true, it will be the only instance of a Spanish missionary inscribing his name on the rock.

Juan Ramirez. Born in the city of Oaxaca, Mexico; made his vows in the Convento de México. At the time he went to New Mexico the Acoma were exceedingly hostile, but he asked and was granted permission to reduce them to Christianity, journeying alone and afoot from Santa Fe, "solo con su breviario y una cruz." Reaching the *peñol* on which Acoma is still situated, Fray Juan was greeted with a shower of arrows from the natives above, but none of them touched him. It chanced just then that a little girl of eight fell over the cliff, landing unhurt near the Father. He bore her to the summit and restored her to her people who, being unable to see where she had fallen, believed she had been killed. After this apparent miracle, Fray Juan was favorably received; he remained at Acoma for many years, baptizing the natives, teaching them Spanish, building a church which he enriched with ornaments, and constructing a trail to the summit of the *peñol* which horses could ascend. He died in the Convento de México, July 24, 1664 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 246–248, 1871; *Crónica*, 319, 1871). Benavides refers to Ramirez in his account of Acoma, but does not mention his name.

Roque de Figueredo. (See p. 197.) We first hear of him as *Definador* of the Province of the Holy Evangel in Mexico, "and the person whom all that Province looked upon with especial love and respect," says Perea in his *Verdadera Relación*. When the Governor and the Father Custodian started on their return to Santa Fe from Zuñi late in July, 1629, Fray Roque "pleaded exceedingly to remain there to convert those gentiles. He is well known in this Kingdom for his great prudence, virtue, and letters; endowed with so many graces, and the principal and most necessary ones to minister and teach these Indians in the divine worship which they now are; for he is eminent in the ecclesiastical chant, counterpoint and plain; dextrous with the instruments of the chorus, organ, bassoon, and cornet; practiced in preaching many years in the Mexican [i. e., Nahuatl, Aztec] tongue and in Mat[l]alzinga; of clear understanding and quick to learn whatsoever difficult tongue." It seems a pity that a man of such versatility should have wasted any part of his life in an endeavor to convert a people who are almost as far from Christianity today as in his own time. Fray Roque's labors in New Mexico probably covered a period at least as late as 1632, as he seems to have written, in conjunction with Fray Agustin de Cuellar, his companion at Zuñi, an account of the murder of Letrado and Arvide in that year. Fray Roque and his two companions (Cuellar and Francisco de la Madre de Dios) were doubtless stationed at the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh, about 15 miles southwest of the present Zuñi village. Hawikuh was the Zibola of Perea and the Granada of Coronado, by which doughty explorer it was stormed in 1540 (see Winship, Coronado Expedition, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1896). There are ruins of an unfinished stone church on the mesa east of the site of Hawikuh, the history of which is unknown — this place, which is covered with the ruins of a pueblo of considerable size, is known to the Zuñi as Kechipauan. The writer strongly suspects that this church was built by the early missionaries to Zuñi, probably by Figueredo and Cuellar, but that it was not finished by reason of the distance from Hawikuh. Cushing believed that the pueblo ruins surrounding this church are those of the historic pueblo of K'yanawe, the "Canabi" of Oñate (1598), but the connection between the names K'yanawe and Kechipauan is not apparent, and there is no question that the Zuñi name of the old settlement is Kechipauan. The walls of the church at Hawikuh were still several feet in height until a few years ago, but the Indians have since used the adobes, of which it was built, in the construction of dwellings at the summer farming village of Ojo Caliente (K'yapkwainakwin) about a mile away. (See note 37.)

Agustin de Cuellar. See under FIGUEREDO above, also p. 197. He prob-

Plate XLIII

INSCRIPTION OF GOVERNOR SILVA NIETO ON EL MORRO, JULY 29, 1629 ably established the mission of Halona (the Alona of several Spanish writers), a part of which village forms a portion of the present Zuñi pueblo, although the larger part of Halona stood on the opposite (southern) bank of the creek known as the Zuñi river.

Francisco de Porras. Born at Villanueva de los Infantes, Spain; took the habit of his order in the monastery of Nuestro Padre San Francisco, Mexico, September 12, 1606, where he was master of novices for five years, 1623 to 1628 (according to Vetancurt, cited below; Perea says he was master for six years), when he was granted permission to accompany Perea to New Mexico. Andrés Gutierrez and Cristóbal de la Concepción, who had made their novitiate under him, accompanied him thither, the three, together with Francisco de San Buenaventura, being assigned to the Moqui (Hopi) pueblos. Regarding their labors in that distant province, see Perea's *Segunda Relación* (1633). They reached the Hopi pueblo of Awatobi on Saint Bernard's day (August 20) of 1629, hence the mission name San Bernardo, or San Bernardino, by which that pueblo was known until it was destroyed by the other Hopi in 1700. Porras is declared to have immediately cured a case of blindness in a Hopi boy by spitting on his hand, rolling a little mud, and placing it on the eyes of the lad while uttering the word "*Epheta*"— resulting in the conversion of a thousand of the Indians. This was at Awatobi, where Porras, apparently, was stationed. But the old men, evidently angered at the loss of power through the adherence of so many of their tribe to the missionaries, poisoned some food, which the Father ate. Realizing his fate, he immediately went to Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, who administered the last sacraments. While repeating the Psalm "*In te, Dómine speravi,*" he expired. The date of his death is June 28, 1633 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 211–213, ed. 1871).

Tomás Manso. Of noble ancestry, son of Sebastian Manso and Doña Maria Mendez; born in Abarca, principality of Asturias, Spain; professed in the Convento de San Francisco of Mexico, July 12, 1624. He was guardian of various monasteries, including those of Redonda and Tezcuco; later he became *Definidor*, and was appointed *Procurador* under Perea after the death of P. Fr. Martin Gonzalez, which office he retained for twenty-five years. On January 23, 1655, he became Father Provincial of the Província del Santo Evangélio, succeeding P. Fr. Francisco de Guzman; he held this office for only eight months, when he became Bishop of Nicaragua, where he died (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 429, 479, 1871). According to a statement by Vetancurt (*Crónica*, 300, 1871), Manso was Custodian of New Mexico, possession being given, by a document of March 6, 1629, of the territory from a river called Sacramento northward including the Quivira country. His name has no connection with that of the Manso tribe, notwithstanding Vetancurt's statement to the contrary.

Cristóval de la Concepción, Andrés Gutierrez, and Francisco de San Buenaventura. As noted above, these three missionaries were assigned with Porras to the Moqui (Hopi) pueblos. At the time of the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 there were missions at San Bernardino de Ahuatobi (Awatobi, where Porras had been stationed); San Bartolomé de Xongopabi (Shongopovi, the Xumupani of Oñate, 1598), with a *visita* at Moxainabe (Mishongnovi); San Francisco de Oraibi, with a *visita* at Walpi. If these missions were established by the three Franciscans above mentioned, it is probable that Fray Cristóval and Fray Andrés were settled at Shongopovi and Oraibi. Francisco de San Buenaventura, the lay religious, however, evidently assisted Porras at Awatobi, since the latter would not have had the opportunity of seeking his aid after finding that he had been poisoned, had Francisco de San Buenaventura resided even at Walpi, which, while the nearest village to Awatobi, was several miles away. An account of the missions mentioned above is given by Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 321–322, 1871. See also *Handbook of American Indians*, I-II, 1907–1910.

Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 161, note, 1889) mentions Juan de la Torre [y Castro] as apparently one of Perea's companions; but Torre did not make his vows in Mexico until May 4, 1629 — after Perea had reached New Mexico. See Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 430, 466, 1871.

During the period of the custodianship of Benavides in New Mexico, the Governor of the province was Don Felipe Zotylo (1621–1628), who was succeeded by Don Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto. Little time was lost by the new missionaries under Perea in departing for their new fields of labor, for we learn from Perea's *Verdadera Relación* (1632), previously cited, that the new Father Custodian (Perea) and the Father Solicitor (Manso), accompanied by the four other priests and two lay religious assigned to the western provinces of Acoma, Zuñi, and the Moqui (Hopi) pueblos, commenced their western journey on June 23, with ten wagons, four hundred cavalry horses, and thirty soldiers well armed, the Governor having returned to headquarters with the soldiers, which evidently means that the Franciscans had been awaiting the arrival of the Governor at Santa Fe from a journey. Among the thirty soldiers was probably Juan Gonzales, previously referred to, whose name, carved on El Morro, is apparently as fresh today as in 1629. The missionary party was well received by the Acoma and Zuñi people, rather to the surprise of the Spaniards, for Perea notes that their apprehensions "assured a good reception by the Indians of the Crag [Acoma], who spontaneously proffered admission," — probably persuaded that, in the face of the "thirty soldiers well armed" and with a lingering memory of the tragedy of the Rock in Oñate's time, discretion is the better part of valor. Similar was the reception of the Spaniards at Zuñi, where "its natives, having tendered their good will and their arms, received them with festive applause — a thing never before heard of in those regions, that so intractable and various nations with equal spirit and semblance should receive the Frailes of St. Francis as if a great while ago they had communicated with them." That Governor Silva Nieto was with the missionary party there is no question, as Perea refers to him as present at Zuñi, where he "issued an edict that no soldier should enter a house of the pueblo, nor transgress in aggrieving the Indians, under the penalty of his life"; that "to give that people to understand the veneration due to the priests, all the times that they arrived where they were, the Governor and soldiers kissed their feet, falling upon their knees, cautioning the Indians that they should do the same as they did; for as much as this the example of the superiors can do." This bit of ceremony may have had the desired effect for the time, but the murder of Fray Francisco Letrado and Fray Martin de Arvide at the hands of the Zuñi less than two years later, shows that its impressiveness was not lasting. The first Franciscan mission at Zuñi having been established, seemingly at Hawikuh, in a house bought for the purpose, "and because the presence of the Governor was already more necessary in the headquarters of the Villa

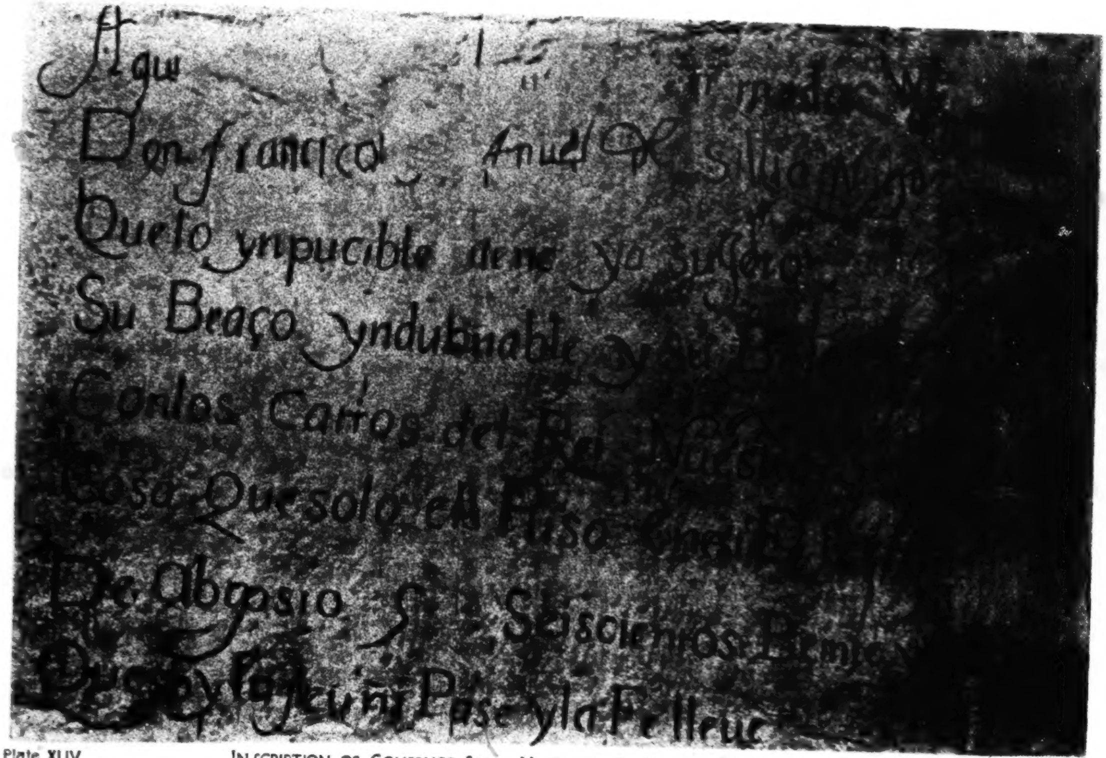

Aqui
Don francisco
Silva
Quelo ynpucible
Su Braço yndubitable
Carlos Carros del
Cosa Que solo el Puso
De Abgosto
Seiscientos
Pase y la Fe lleue

Plate XLIV INSCRIPTION OF GOVERNOR SILVA NIETO ON EL MORRO, AUGUST 9, 1629

[Santa Fe] than in that place, he arranged to return, with the Father Custodian [Perea] and his companions."

We next find the Governor at El Morro, or Inscription Rock, on his return journey to the capital, where, on July 29, he left his inscription, still mostly legible (see plate XLIII), of which the following is a translation:

"*The Most Illustrious Sir and Captain General of the provinces of New Mexico for the King our Master, passed by here on the return from the villages of Zuñi on the 29th of July of the year of 1629; and them* [the Indians] *he put in peace at their request,* [they] *asking his favor as vassals of His Majesty. And anew they gave obedience; all of which he did with persuasiveness, zeal, and prudence, like such a most Christian* [effaced], *such a careful and gallant soldier of unending and exalted memory.*"

There is internal evidence, if one may be permitted to read between the lines of the next inscription, that all did not go well at Zuñi after the Governor's departure with his soldiers, for early in the following month he was again carving an inscription on El Morro (plate XLIV), after having "conquered the impossible" by his strong right arm and his valor, "a thing which he only accomplished August 9." Thus it would seem that the Governor had scarcely time to return to Santa Fe, a distance of thirty-six leagues from Acoma and fifty-six leagues from Zuñi (El Morro is about half-way between), before being called back. Indeed we have the direct statement of Perea, who devotes the greater part of his *Segunda Relación* to the subject, that only by a miracle was Fr. Figueredo, the missionary at the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh (?), saved, since the Devil admonished the natives, "with menaces, that they should eject this strange priest from their country. They put it into operation, all manifesting themselves in such manner that already they did not assist as they were wont, to bring water and wood, nor did one of them appear. By night was heard a great din of dances, drums, and caracoles, which among them is signal of war." But in this imminent danger God came to Fray Roque's succor, and to make a long story short, the missionary saw that the Indians were "well catechised and sufficiently fit," whereupon "he ordered to be built in the plaza a high platform, where he said mass with all solemnity, and baptized them on the day of St. Augustine [seemingly the day of St. Augustine of Hippo, August 28, not St. Augustine of England, May 26] of the year of 1629; singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, etc.; and through having so good a voice, the Father Fray Roque — accompanied by the chant — caused devotion in all." Thus were the Zuñi Christianized for the time being, although, needless to say, they did not understand a word the good fraile said, nor knew the meaning of any part of the rites he celebrated for their benefit.

Following is a translation of Governor Silva Nieto's second inscription:

"*Here passed the Governor Don Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto, whose indubitable prowess and valor have already conquered the impossible, with the wagons of Our Lord the King, a thing which he only accomplished, August 9,* [One Thousand] *Six Hundred, Twenty and Nine. That* [*? it be seen*] *that I passed to Zuñi and carried the Faith.*"

For the text of these inscriptions, see plates XLIII and XLIV. Consult also Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (New York, 1911, pp. 176–178); "Photographs of Some of the Inscriptions on El Morro, New Mexico, by Homer E. Hoopes, with Translations and Notes by Henry L. Broomall," *Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science*, vol. I, no. I, pp. 13–24, pl. I–IX, Media, Pa., Oct. 1895. In 1912, an expedition of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in charge of F. W. Hodge, visited El Morro and made photographs and paper squeezes of all the inscriptions of historical moment. From these impressions casts in plaster have been produced and with the original paper negatives are now in the National Museum. The accompanying illustrations of the Silva Nieto inscriptions are from photographs of the casts mentioned. Good photographs of these inscriptions *in situ* are difficult to make, as they are both on the shaded northern face of the cliff. F. W. H.

9. Padre Fray Francisco de Apodaca, of the Province of Cantabria, succeeded Padre Fray Alonso de Montemayor as Commissary-General of New Spain in 1627. In turn he was succeeded in 1633 by Padre Fray Luis Flores. It will be observed that Perea's *Relación*, as well as the *Relación* of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, was addressed to Apodaca. F. W. H.

10. The Order of St. Francis, the members of which are popularly called Franciscans, was founded in 1210 by St. Francis of Assisi (Francis Bernardone), born at Assisi in Umbria, in 1181 or 1182. St. Francis has been severely arraigned by Thomas of Celano, his first biographer, for his youthful worldliness, but after a severe illness he turned to a life of ascetic devotion and thenceforward his burning desire was the conversion of souls. Accordingly he set out for Syria in 1212, but shipwreck on the coast of Slavonia led him to return to Ancona. He devoted the following year to the evangelizing of central Italy, and in 1214 set out for Morocco to convert the infidels, but severe illness while in Spain caused him to return to Italy once more. In 1219, St. Francis sent out his foremost disciples, each on a separate mission, in an endeavor to realize his project of evangelizing the infidels, he himself choosing the seat of war between the Crusaders and the Saracens. Though he did not realize this ambition, the Order grew with amazing rapidity. At the famous assembly held at Porziuncola in 1220 or 1221, at Whitsuntide, 5,000 friars are said to have been present, besides 500 applicants for admission into the Order. In 1224, while fasting and praying on Mount La Verna, St. Francis received the stigmata (see note 48). Being rigidly devoted to his vow of poverty and enduring frequent fasts, he became much worn in body after eighteen years of unremitting toil, finally falling into serious illness. He died October 3, 1226, and was canonized July 16, 1228. The Franciscan Order was sanctioned by Pope Innocent III in the year of its organization, but was more formally ratified in 1223 by Pope Honorarius III. Under various names it gained rapidly in membership throughout Europe, the Minorites, or Friars Minor, the Barefooted Friars, and the Gray Friars being most popularly known. Their vows are poverty, chastity, and obedience, special stress being laid on preaching and ministry to body and soul. Severity of the rules of the Order early resulted in dissension, and in the 15th century it became divided into the Observants and the Conventuals, the former, as the name implies, following the stringent rules originally adopted, the Conventuals being more liberal. Their garb consists of a coarse brown or gray gown and cowl (hence "Gray Friars"), with a girdle of knotted rope, and sandals; formerly they went barefooted and bareheaded (hence "Barefooted Friars"). Popes Sixtus V and Clement XIV

were members of the Order. The Second Franciscan Order of Poor Ladies, now known as Poor Clares, was founded in 1212 through an appeal to St. Francis by Clare of Assisi (Clare Scifi), a young heiress of his native town, to be allowed to embrace the new manner of life he had founded. In 1218 the Order of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance (now known as the Third Order of St. Francis) was established. This Order is designed for the middle state between the world and the cloister, for those who cannot forsake their homes or desert their wonted vocations. It is evident from Benavides' own statement (p. 21) that the Franciscan missionaries in New Mexico in the 17th century practiced public flagellation. An outgrowth of the Third Order, still existent among the lower classes of "Mexicans" in New Mexico and Colorado, is known among its members as "Los Hermanos Penitentes de la Tercer Orden de San Francisco." Formerly of large membership and wide range, is has declined in recent years by reason of the ban placed on the organization by the Church, but in a few localities its members are still comparatively strong, and practice flagellation and other barbarous rites, but the custom of binding one of their number to a cross on Good Friday in imitation of the Crucifixion has been recently abandoned. For a biography of St. Francis and a bibliography of the Franciscan Order, see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VI, and for an account of the Penitentes of New Mexico consult Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo*, pp. 77–108, New York, 1893. F. W. H.

11. The limits of New Mexico at this period were very indefinite owing to lack of knowledge of the region beyond the area of actual colonization of or occupancy by sedentary Indian tribes. Regarding the confines of the province a century and a quarter ago, Alcedo (*Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de las Indias Occidentales ó América*, tomo III, p. 183, Madrid, 1788) gives the following description which might also have served for Benavides' time: . . . "confina por el S con las Provincias de Cinaloa, Nueva Viscaya y Nuevo Reyno de Leon: por el S y SE con la Florida: por el NE con el Canadá ó Nueva Francia; y por el O. NO. y SO. con las Californias extendiendoſe por el N, cuyos limites se ignoran todavia: comprehende su extension desde 260. hasta 275. gr. de long., y desde 28. hasta 45. de lat: tiene de largo 350. leguas NS y 150. de ancho EO." For an historical account of the boundary of the present state, see Gannett, *Boundaries of the United States, States, and Territories*, 2d ed., Bulletin 171, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, 1900. F. W. H.

12. Valley of Santa Barbara. This is an upper valley of the Rio Conchos, named after the Conchos or Conchas tribe. It was the route followed by some of the earlier explorers, including Espejo (1582–83) and Oñate (1596–98). The names Santa Barbara and San Bartolomé seem to have been indiscriminately applied to the valley about this period. The settlement is the present Allende, southwest of Jimenez, in southern central Chihuahua. Regarding the name of the river, Bandelier makes the following interesting observations: "The name has been corrupted into 'Conchos,' but the original designation was 'Rio de las Conchas.' See Joan de Miranda, *Relación hecha al Doctor Orozco, Presidente de la Audiencia de Guadalajara*, etc., p. 566: 'Á diez y á doce leguas de las minas de Santa Bárbara, al Norueste, está un rio muy grande que corre hácia Lebante; llamanle el rio de las Conchas, y á esta causa,

llaman los indios que en el hay, de las Conchas.' It was called thus in the documents of 1582. *Testimento dado en Méjico sobre el Descubrimiento de doscientas Leguas adelante de las Minas de Santa Bárbola, Gobernacion de Diego de Ibarra*, etc. (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xv, pp. 83, 90). It was Antonio de Espejo who (Relación del Viaje, *Doc de Indias*, vol. xv, p. 104) perverted it into Conchos."— Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 79, 1890. It will be recalled that Benavides (p. 12) refers to the "Rio Conchos, so called after the Concha nation which dwells upon it." F. W. H.

13. For an excellent account of the history of these tribes and of their final absorption, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, part I, p. 79 et seq., and part II, chap. XIV. The Tarahumare and Tepehuane, both Piman tribes, are the only ones still known by these names.

14. Mansos. The aboriginal name of this tribe is unknown, the terms Manso, Gorreta, and Lano having been applied by the Spaniards since the earliest period of their contact. Benavides speaks of the name Manso as though it had been applied first during his own residence in New Mexico, whereas it was employed by Juan de Oñate, the first colonizer of New Mexico, while among them May 4, 1598. Oñate says: ". . . Sus primeras palabras fueron *manxo, manxo, micos, micos*, por decir mansos y amigos" (*Doc. de Indias*, XVI, 243). Vetancurt (*Menologio*, 24, 429, ed. 1871) makes a statement concerning the origin of the name which is more amusing than true: "Los Mansos, nacion bárbara que desacreditaba con su ferocidad el título: llamáronse así por el ilustrísimo señor obispo de Nicaragua fray Tomás Manso." (!) This venerable Manso was *Procurador* for many years, having entered the mission field of New Mexico with Perea, Benavides' successor. (See page 207.) Regarding the habitat and the mode of life of this tribe, Benavides sheds as much light as any of the early authorities, and indeed it is in these respects that the *Memorial* is of such great value to students today. According to Bandelier, our leading authority on the early history of the Southwestern tribes, their mode of government and system of kinship was the same as that of the northern Pueblos, from whom their rites and traditions prove them to have come. It seems that soon after Benavides' time the Mansos lived farther up the Rio Grande, about the vicinity of Las Cruces, whence they were taken to El Paso by the venerable Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga (another of Perea's companions and the founder of the mission of Socorro) in 1659, when the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos was established. (See page 205.) When Bandelier visited the remnant of the tribe associated with the Mexicanized Tigua and Piro in Isleta del Sur and Senecú, below El Paso, it was found to be reduced to about a dozen families, and although they had entirely lost their language, the survivors maintained a shadow of their former tribal organization and a few of their rites and dances, which were similar to those of some of the New Mexican pueblos. See Bandelier in *Fifth Report of the Archæological Institute of America*, p. 50, 1884, and his *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 86, 165–168, 248, 1890, and pt. 2, pp. 348–349, 1892; Anne E. Hughes, "The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District," *University of California Publications in History*, vol I, no. 3, Berkeley, 1914. F. W. H.

15. The Rio Grande del Norte was called Tiguex, Tihuex, and Tibex by the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition (1540–42), except Alvarado who named it Nuestra Señora. Fray Agustin Rodriguez (1581) named it Guadalquivir; Espejo (1582–83), Rio del Norte for the first time; Castaño de Sosa (1590) applied the name Rio Brabo, and Oñate (1598) gave both Rio Bravo and Rio del Norte. F. W. H.

16. This was the famous and appropriately named Jornada del Muerto, which lay east of the Rio Grande between Fra[y] Cristóbal and Robledo, or the vicinity of what later became Fort Selden, opposite "Cerro Roblado" on modern maps, sixty miles above El Paso, approach to the river between these points being cut off by the Fra[y] Cristóbal range and the Sierra de los Caballos. Until the A. T. & S. F. railway was extended southward from Isleta to El Paso, this desert route was the terror of all travelers, and many a life has gone out in an endeavor to cross the inhospitable stretch of eighty miles. The spring to which attention is called is doubtless the "Ojo del Muerto" of the first half of the present century, which was situated in the mountains, five or six miles west of the road, to reach which one had to wind two or three miles down a narrow cañon under exposure to attack by bands of the "Apaches del Perrillo," as Benavides terms those bands of the Mescaleros ("mescal eaters") which infested the region described. (See Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, vol. II, pp. 72-74, New York, 1844.)

It is interesting to record information regarding the naming of the "Perrillo" water-hole, for the little dog to which Benavides alludes might otherwise be unknown to history. The sagacious canine was attached to Juan de Oñate's expedition to New Mexico in 1598, which, traveling up the Rio Grande valley, had entered the Jornada del Muerto and on May 21 had buried Pedro Robledo (from which the cerro probably took its name). On the 23d (only six leagues having been covered since Robledo's death, "por que ibamos fuera del Rio, cinco ó seis leguas desviados, hácia el Oriente á la mano derecha"), the following occurrence was recorded: "Este dia, con ocasión de un perro que vino, enlodados los pies y manos, se buscaron aguaxes; y el capitan Villagran hallõ uno, y Cripstobal Sanchez, otro, no lejos de nosotros, hacia el Rio; y empezó á enfermar de gota nuestro Padre Comissario." (Discurso de las Jornadas, *Doc. de Indias*, XVI, 248.) The detour of which Oñate speaks is alluded to also by Benavides (page 16) when he says: ". . . and we pass by way of them [the Apaches of the Perrillo] with less anxiety, until we reach the Rio del Norte again, on whose banks commence the settlements of New Mexico." F. W. H.

17. Piro. These formed one of the principal groups of Pueblo tribes in Benavides' time and for a generation later. They comprised two divisions—one occupying the Rio Grande valley from the present San Marcial, Socorro county, northward to within about fifty miles of Albuquerque, where the country of the Rio Grande Tigua, or the "Province of Tiguex" of Coronado, commenced. This Piro area was comprised within Oñate's "province of Atripuy," which embraced many settlements, most of them now known only by name. The other Piro division, sometimes called Tompiro (see note 26) and Salineros, occupied an area eastward from the Rio Grande and its moun-

tain wall, in the vicinity of the salt lagoons — the Salinas — where they adjoined the eastern group of Tigua settlements on the south. The Piro were visited possibly by members of Coronado's expedition (1540-41), as well as by Chamuscado (1581), Espejo (1583), who found them in ten villages along the river and in others near by, Oñate (1598), and by other early explorers.

The causes which led to the destruction of several of the Piro villages in 1675, according to Bandelier, had already been at work before Benavides commenced his missionary labors in New Mexico, since later in the *Memorial* he says that the Piro settlements began with Senecú (the site of the present hamlet of San Antonio, between San Marcial and Socorro) and ended with Sevilleta (at or near the present La Joya), whereas in 1598 the first Piro villages met by Oñate in journeying upstream were Qualacú and Trenaquel, the latter on or near the site of San Marcial, the former on the opposite or eastern side of the river; indeed, Benavides speaks of the depopulation of Sevilleta, the burning of the village, and of his gathering the scattered natives and settling them anew. As already intimated, the fourteen or more Piro villages of the Rio Grande in 1630 (Bandelier believes that at least three of these were Tigua pueblos) were reduced to Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, ere the beginning of the Pueblo rebellion half a century later; but this reduction in number, we are informed by Bandelier, "was due not only to the efforts of the missionaries to gather their flocks into larger pueblos, but also to the danger to which these Indians were exposed from the Apaches of the 'Perrillo' and the 'Gila.'" In other words, a "policy of concentration" had been adopted by the missionaries more than two hundred and fifty years before a similar plan (but not always with a beneficent object) was put in operation by our governmental authorities, the cost of which, in both lives and money, is almost beyond reckoning. The names of the former villages of the Rio Grande Piro, so far as known with certainty, are: (1) Alamillo on the Rio Grande, about 12 miles north of Sorocco; native name unknown. (2) Qualacú. (3) San Pascual; native name also unknown; opposite San Antonio, which was the site of Senecú. (4) Senecú. (5) Sevilleta. (6) Socorro, or Pilabó, on the site of the present Sorocco. (7) Teypana or Teypama, nearly opposite Sorocco. (8) Trenaquel.

The first active missionary work among the Piro of the Rio Grande was conducted by Fray Juan Claros, who went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598, and ministered to Qualacú, Teypana, and Trenaquel (of the province of "Atripuy"), as well as to some Tigua and other villages. It is extremely doubtful, however, if any active steps were taken at this early date toward the erection of churches. Fray Juan returned to Mexico with other friars while Oñate was in Quivira in 1601. (See note 6.) The date of the beginning of the conversion of the Piro is definitely given by Benavides as 1626, but he does not state positively that the churches were erected in that year, and indeed his little band of missionaries was too small to cover much of his vast field. As there is no doubt that Benavides spent some time in New Mexico after Perea's arrival in the spring of 1629, we may reasonably assume that the actual building of the churches and monasteries at San Antonio de Senecú, Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Pilabó, and San Luis Obispo de Sevilleta, was done by the missionaries whom Perea brought and to whom the churches are attributed by the best early authorities. When Benavides states that he made certain conversions or erected certain churches, he really means that the labors were performed under his custodianship—and he was evidently still Custodian after Perea's arrival and until his own return to Mexico after the middle of September, 1629. As Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 248) says, "Benavides . . . attributes the establishment of the missions to himself, which is true in the sense that he, as Custodian, directed them."

The area occupied by the eastern branch of the Piro extended from the pueblo of Abó southeastward to and including the pueblos of Tabirá (commonly but improperly known as "Gran Quivira"), a distance of about 25 miles. The habitat of the eastern Piro was even more desert in character than that of the eastern Tigua which bounded it on the north, for the Arroyo de Abó, on which the pueblo of Abó was situated, was the only perennial stream in the region, the inhabitants of Tabirá and Tenabó depending entirely on the storage of rain for their water supply. In addition to the three pueblos named, it is not improbable that the now-ruined villages known by the Spanish names Pueblo Blanco, Pueblo Colorado, and Pueblo de la Parida, were among the eleven inhabited settlements of the Salinas seen by Chamuscado in 1581. Oñate, in 1598, also visited the pueblos of the Salinas, and in the same year the first missionary labors were begun in this section by Fray Francisco de San Miguel, a chaplain of Oñate's army (see note 6). The headquarters of this fraile were at Pecos, but he ministered also to the Indians of the Tigua pueblo of Quaraí and to the inhabitants of the three Piro villages above mentioned. The first actual missions among the Piro of the Salinas were established in 1629 by Francisco de Acevedo at Abó and Tabirá, and probably also at Tenabó, but ere the massive-walled churches and monasteries were completed, the village-dwellers of both the Salinas and the Rio Grande suffered so seriously from the ever-turbulent Apache, that every village of the Salinas was deserted before the Pueblo insurrection of 1680.

On January 23, 1675, the Apache raided Senecú, killed its missionary, Fray Alonso Gil de Avila, and murdered most of its inhabitants, the survivors fleeing to Socorro, leaving their own village to remain permanently abandoned. Some time prior to this disaster six of the Senecú villagers were executed for murdering the alcalde and four other Spaniards; this inspired the Piro with fear of the colonists, consequently they were not invited to participate in the revolt of 1680. For this reason, when Governor Otermin retreated from Santa Fe in that year, he was joined by nearly all the inhabitants of Socorro, Sevilleta, and Alamillo, who were established by him in the new villages of Socorro in Texas, and Senecú del Sur in Chihuahua, below El Paso, where their remnant, numbering about 60, still survives, although their language, which was closely related to the Tigua, is practically extinct. The few Piro who remained in New Mexico were doubtless absorbed by the Tigua.

Living with or near the Piro of the Salinas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a band of Jumano (see note 53), a semi-nomadic tribe of Caddoan affinity. The proximity of these Indians to the Piro led to the error, on the part of cartographers of that period, of confounding them with the latter, hence the various references on many early maps to the "Humanos de Tompiros," etc. (see note 26). For further information concerning the early history of the Piro, see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 130 et seq., 1890; pt. II, pp. 236–253, 268–292, 1892; Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo*, 285–310,

1893. On the language of the tribe, see "The Language of the Piro," by John Russell Bartlett, with an introduction by F. W. Hodge, *American Anthropologist*, XI, no. 3, pp. 426–433, Lancaster, Pa., July-September, 1909; John P. Harrington, "Notes on the Piro Language," ibid., XI, no. 4, pp. 563–594, October-December, 1909. F. W. H.

18. Socorro. This name was applied to two distinct Piro pueblos: first by Juan de Oñate in 1598 to the village of Teipana (Teypana, Teypama), three leagues above the present town of Socorro (see "Discutso de las Jornadas que hizo el Campo de Su Magestad desde la Nueva España á la provincia de la Nueva México.— Año de 1526" [1596], in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, tomo XVI, p. 251), and now by Benavides to the village of Pilabó (or Pilopué as the Oñate documents record it), where Socorro now stands. Oñate remarks that he applied the name Socorro because the natives received him kindly and supplied him with much needed corn: "Dormimos frontero de Teipana, pueblo que llamamos del Socorro porque nos dió mucho maiz;" etc. Regarding the origin of the name, Vetancurt (*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*, 1697, ed. 1871, p. 309) says that it was given "porque á la venida de los carros, ántes de la fundacion de Guadalupe [at El Paso del Norte], se les llevaba socorro de pan y otras cosas á los caminantes." As hitherto described (note 17), most of the 600 inhabitants of the pueblo followed Governor Otermin to El Paso in 1680, building a new village below that place and giving to it the name of their former pueblo, but now sometimes distinguished as Socorro del Sur, "Socorro of the South." The walls of the old church founded by Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga (see p. 205) were standing in 1692, and the ruins of the village were still visible in 1725, but no trace of the former settlement is now to be seen. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 86, 1890; pt. 2, p. 241, et seq., 1892. F. W. H.

19. Senecú. According to Bandelier this name is probably a corruption of the aboriginal appellation *Tzenocué*. The Piro pueblo of Senecú was situated on the western bank of the Rio Grande, at the site of the present village of San Antonio—a survival of the name applied to the mission in 1629 by Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga, its founders (see note 8). Regarding the fate of the village, Bandelier, on the authority of early documents, says: "On the 23d of January, 1675, [the Apache] surprised the pueblo of Senecú, killed its missionary, Fray Alonzo Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted" (*Final Report*, pt. II, p. 250, 1892). At the rebellion of the Pueblos against Spanish authority in 1680, the inhabitants of Socorro fled to El Paso with Governor Otermin, and with some Tigua and other Piro were afterward established in the pueblo of Senecú del Sur, below El Paso, in Chihuahua. This settlement still exists, but its inhabitants are largely "Mexicanized" and their native dialects are virtually extinct (see note 17). The remains of Fray García de San Francisco were buried at Senecú, New Mexico. See Bandelier, op. cit., and Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 309, ed. 1871. F. W. H.

20. Sevilleta. The native name of this pueblo is not known, nor are we informed of the name of the missionary who, under Benavides' direction, estab-

lished the church and monastery dedicated to San Luis Obispo (Bishop of Toulouse), whose day is August 19. Sevilleta was the most northerly pueblo of the Piro; it was visited in 1598 by Oñate, who called it Nueva Sevilla, its situation on the east bank of the Rio Grande, at or near old La Joya, bearing a fancied resemblance to that of Sevilla in Spain. (*Discurso de las Jornadas*, op. cit., pp. 251–252: "Andobimos tres leguas [seven leagues above Socorro] al pueblecillo que llamamos la Nueva Sevilla, por su sitio.") At this time it was a small place, as Oñate indicates; later, as Benavides notes, it was destroyed through intertribal wars (evidently with the Apache), its inhabitants being scattered among the hills until reassembled by the Custodian, who rebuilt the town. Its importance as the seat of a monastery-mission did not last long, for in 1680 it contained only three families (Vetancurt), the remainder having joined Otermin in his flight to El Paso. In the following year Otermin found the town abandoned, and it was never reoccupied. Vetancurt, evidently not knowing the real origin of the name of the pueblo, says: " . . . que por la multitud que se halló de piros tomó el nombre de Sevilleta" (*Crónica*, p. 310, ed. 1871). The name, which survives today in the "Cevilleta grant," has been sadly contorted by most of the writers who have mentioned it, for it appears also as Sebollita, Semillete, Seuilleta, Sevillete, Sevilletta, Sibillela, Sibilleta. Even Benavides has it Sivilleta more than once in his text. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 238 et seq., 1892. F. W. H.

21. Mines of Socorro. There are persistent assertions, especially by the early missionaries, as to the mineral wealth of New Mexico. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who served in New Mexico between 1618 and 1626, and who prepared a report of his observations in or after 1629, refers also to the mineral deposits in the Socorro mountains, as well as to the extent of the mineral wealth of the province in general. He speaks in the following terms: "As for saying that it is a poor [country] I answer that there has not been discovered in the world a country of more mineral deposits than New Mexico, of every sort of assay, good and bad. There are *minas* [mineral deposits] in the Socorro mountains, in the Salt Lakes [the Salinas east of the Rio Grande], in the mountains of Puaray [the Sandias east of Bernalillo], in Tunque, in the Puerto, in Ciénega, in San Marcos, in Galisteo, in Los Pozos, in Picuries (in this pueblo are garnet mines), in Zama [Chama]. In all the ranges of the Hemex [Jemez] there is nothing but deposits, where I discovered many and filed on them for His Majesty. From the which I took out eighteen arrobas [1 arroba = 25.317 lbs. av.] of ore. As I returned [to Mexico] I distributed these ores at all the mining-camps I passed in order that all might see the ores of New Mexico. Before all things, there are mineral deposits, and there is no corner which has them not. The Spaniards that are there are too poor in capital to work the deposits, and are of less spirit: enemies to work of any sort. Well, in that country we have seen silver, copper, lead, loadstone, copperas, alum, sulphur, and mines of turquoise which the Indians work in their paganism, since to them it is as diamonds and precious stones. At all this the Spaniards who are there laugh; as they have a good crop of tobacco to smoke, they are very content, and wish no more riches. It seems as if they had taken the vow of poverty—which is much for Spaniards, who out of greed for silver and gold would enter Hell itself to get them.

"I prove this truth that no one may doubt if they are as spiritless as all this; and I say: It will be nine years since there came into that country, in search of mines, three Flemings, citizens of this City of Mexico, named Juan Fresco, Juan Descalzo, and Rodrigo Lorenzo, very honest men of entire truth and good example. They found many ore-bodies, made many assays, got out silver — as we all saw — and came back to this New Spain, where they bought tools and other necessary articles and got a miner and a refiner. They returned the second time. The day the news [of their return] reached the town of the Spaniards [Santa Fe] that these said Flemings were returning to work mines, that same night they set fire to the workshops in which they were to treat the ore. The which was done since Don Pedro de Peralta was governor [*ca.* 1608–1621]; for he was inclined to this; and with his contracts everything became quiet. By this is seen their depraved temper, and that it troubles them, since they are enemies of silver, that others should mine it." (*Relación*, paragraphs 34, 35, translated in *Land of Sunshine*, December, 1899, pp. 43–44.)

But in the face of such a roseate account, so high an authority as Bandelier denies that mineral deposits existed in paying quantities. The following extracts are of special interest in this connection:

"The current notions of rich Spanish mines in New Mexico, and of great metallic wealth which the Spaniards derived from that territory, are the purest myths and fables. The opinion in which New Mexico was held in Spain as well as in Mexico is expressed by A. von Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne* (ed. of 1827, vol. ii, p. 246): 'Plusieurs géographes paroissent confondre le Nouveau-Mexique avec les Provincias internas: ils en parlent comme d'un pays riche en mines, et d'une vaste étendue . . . Ce qu'il appelle l'empire du Nouveau-Mexique n'est qu'un rivage habité par de pauvres colons. Cest un terrain fertile, mais dépeuplé, dépourvu, à ce que l'on croit jusqu'ici, de toutes richesses métalliques.' The earliest explorers and settlers collected samples of ore which proved to be rich, but as early as 1602 the chief authorities at Mexico became rather sceptical concerning the mineral wealth of the territory. The Count of Monterey says, in his *Discurso y Proposicion que se hace á Vuestra Magestad*, etc. (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xvi, p. 45): 'Y no es aquello tan estéril como la gente que se vino lo pintaba, ni tan próspero como otros lo hacen y lo representó el Gobernador en las relaciones del año de noventa y nueve.' Ibid., p. 50: 'Y cierto que yo no tengo perdida esperanza de que se haya de verificar lo que el Gobernador todavia afirma, de que hay plata en algunos cerros de aquella comarca en que está.' . . . After the rebellion of 1680, several so-called mines were entered by prospectors. For instance, one in the Jornada del Muerto in 1685 (*Rexistro de una Mina de Pedro de Abalos*, MS.), and several in 1713. But in 1725 we are officially informed by the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera,— who was commissioned to inspect all the military posts or presidios of the North and the districts thereto pertaining,— that up to that date no mines had been worked in New Mexico, owing to the low grade of the ore. I give the words from his *Diario y Derrotero* (p. 32): 'Hanse encontrado en dicho Reyno, algunos Minerales, sin dar su metal mas ley, que la de Alquimia, y Cobre: y como no se ha podido costear el beneficio que necessita, las han dejado abandonadas.' These citations ought to be conclusive, and to dispose of the myths about Spanish treasure taken from New Mexico, as also of the other not less ridiculous tale, that the uprising of 1680 was produced chiefly by the hard labor to which the Pueblo Indians were compelled in mines in New Mexico." (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 195–196, 1890.)

"The term 'minas,' in older Spanish, is used to designate the localities where minerals are found, equivalent to the German 'Fundorte,' and not *worked* mines, in the English sense of the term, or the French. This has caused a misunderstanding which misled the majority of prospectors." (Ibid., pt. II, p. 94; see also pt. I, p. 13; pt. 2, p. 241, and consult Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*, pp. 93–94; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim; Fayette Alexander Jones, *New Mexico Mines and Minerals*, Santa Fe, 1904; *The Land of Sunshine, A Handbook of the Resources, Products, Industries and Climate of New Mexico* (2d ed.), compiled and edited by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter, Santa Fe, 1906.) The work last mentioned says: "Socorro County leads all other counties in mineral production and has more mining districts than any other county, two of which, the Magdalena and Cooney districts, are world famous. In the first named, two mines, the Graphic and the Kelly, have to date produced $6,000,000 worth of silver and lead ore and are now producing a large amount of zinc," etc. (p. 345.) F. W. H.

22. Téoas Nation. These were not the Tewa, as the name would seem to imply, but the Tiwa, or Tigua. During the earliest historical period this group of Pueblo Indians comprised three geographic divisions: one occupying Taos and Picurís, the most northerly of the New Mexican villages and still inhabited on upper tributaries of the Rio Grande (see notes 33, 35); another in numerous pueblos (forming the province of Tiguex of Coronado) extending from the vicinity of Bernalillo to or below Isleta, which latter village, together with Sandia, is still inhabited; and the third occupying the pueblos of Chililí, Quaraí, Tajique, and others whose names are unknown, in the vicinity of the Salinas, east of the Rio Grande, where they adjoined the so-called Tompiro division of the Piro on the north. At the time of the visit by members of Coronado's force in 1541, Taos and Picurís were separated from the middle group by the Tano, Tewa, and Rio Grande Queres, as they are today, save that the Tano are now extinct as tribes. The southern Rio Grande group of villages numbered from twelve to sixteen according to varying authorities, but early in the Spanish domination these were reduced by consolidation to insure greater security from the predatory Apache and to facilitate missionary labors; so that by 1680, the date of the beginning of the great revolt, the lower Rio Grande Tigua occupied only the pueblos of Puaray (the Tiguex village of the Tiguex province of Coronado, where Juan de la Cruz remained as missionary in 1542 and was killed), Sandia, Alameda, and Isleta, with an estimated population, according to Vetancurt, of 200, 3,000, 300, and 2,000 respectively. The southern limit of the Rio Grande Tigua settlements in the sixteenth century is not known with certainty, since Oñate visited a new but abandoned pueblo four leagues north of Sevilleta (the last Piro town in Benavides' time), June 24, 1598, naming it Sant Joan Baptista (San Juan Bautista) in honor of the day (*Doc. de Indias*, XVI, 252), and being on the confines of the Tigua-Piro area, it is not known to which of the groups it pertained. In 1581 Francisco Sanchez de Chamuscado, with eight soldiers and seven Indian servants, accompanied the missionaries Francisco López, Juan de Santa Maria, and Agustin Rodriguez, or Ruiz, to the Tigua country, but all three of the Franciscans

were killed by the natives late in the same year, after Chamuscado's departure. The following year, Antonio de Espejo was dispatched with fourteen followers, but on his approach the Indians of Puaray, to whom he attributed the death of at least Fray Francisco López, fled for fear of vengeance, and although their fears were afterward allayed, Espejo learned little more than he already knew. In 1591 Castaño de Sosa also visited the Tigua, as likewise did Juan de Oñate, as above mentioned, who discovered in 1598 on a wall of a room at Puaray a partially effaced painting representing the murder of the missionaries seventeen years before. (See note 4.)

The eastern portion of what was the Salinas area of the Tigua up to about 1674 was limited to a narrow strip along the eastern slope of the Manzano mountains, and included the pueblo above mentioned, possibly one near the present hamlet of Manzano, and in all probability others, since Chamuscado mentions the existence of eleven pueblos in this area in 1581. To the east of this range lay a country bountifully supplied with game, including buffalo, while round about the settlements were the saline lagoons from which this section derives its name and from which the Indians obtained salt for barter with tribes as far south as Parral in Chihuahua. Yet the inhabitants were beset with many disadvantages. For the greater part their range was an inhospitable desert, exposed to the nomadic and warlike Apache whose constant raids resulted first in the abandonment of Chililí, between 1669 and 1674, then Quaraí about 1674, its inhabitants joining those of Tajique, which a year later was also permanently abandoned. Most of these villagers of the Salinas fled to their kindred at Isleta on the Rio Grande, where they remained until 1680. In the Pueblo rebellion the Tigua of the far north, as well as those of Alameda, Sandia, and Puaray, participated, but the inhabitants of Isleta took no immediate part on account of the presence of Spanish refugees. On the reappearance of Governor Otermin in 1681, all these pueblos except Isleta were abandoned and were afterward burned by the Spaniards. The Isleteños, however, held out until their village was stormed and about five hundred of their number made captives, most of whom were taken to El Paso and later settled in the pueblo of Isleta del Sur, Texas (cf. notes 17, 24). Of the remainder of the population of Isleta and Sandia, a large portion fled to Tusayan, in the present northeastern Arizona, where they lived with the Moqui, or Hopi, until 1709 or 1718, when the Isleta people returned and reoccupied their pueblo. The Sandia Indians, however, who numbered 441, appear to have remained at Tusayan until 1742, when the survivors returned to the Rio Grande at the instance of Padres Delgado and Pino, and in 1748 were settled in a new pueblo on or near the site of their old village, where they have since remained (see note 23). Alameda and Puaray were never reëstablished as Indian pueblos. The present total population of the four remaining Tigua villages is 1,746. (See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 218, 253, et seq., 1892.) For an account of their condition in 1540–41, when Coronado spent the winter among them and treated them with great barbarity, see Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1896, caption "Tiguex," and for the history of the participation by the Tigua in the Pueblo revolt of 1680 consult Charles Wilson Hackett in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XV, pp. 127–129, Austin, Oct. 1911; XVI, pp. 137–168, 259–276, Oct. 1912, Jan. 1913.

See also Hackett in *Old Santa Fe*, I, 381–391, Santa Fe, Apr. 1915. The name *Tiguex*, so common in early Spanish chronicles, is the plural form (pronounced *Teewesh*) of the aboriginal appellation *Tiwan*. F. W. H.

23. Sandia. This Tigua pueblo is near the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, twelve miles north of Albuquerque, in Sandoval county. It is the successor of one of the towns of the Province of Tiguex of Coronado (1540–42), but it was not mentioned by name; it was the Napeya (from the native term *Nafiat*) of Oñate in 1598, and became the seat of the mission of San Francisco established as early as 1617 (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 220, 1892), although Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 312, repr. 1871) attributes its conversion to Fray Estevan de Perea, while Bandelier states that its first church was in existence as early as 1614, basing the assertion on a statement by Zárate Salmerón (transl., p. 314) that the whereabouts of the body of Fray "Juan" [Francisco] López was revealed to Perea "more than thirty-three years" after the death of the former in 1580 or 1581. There is no other evidence that Perea was in New Mexico before 1629, although there seems to be no doubt that Zárate Salmerón served at Sandia in or after 1617. The remains of Fray Francisco López were reinterred by Perea at Sandia, as probably were also those of Fray Agustin Rodriguez, and Perea himself died and was buried there (Vetancurt, op. cit.). At the time of the Pueblo revolt in 1680 many of the inhabitants of Sandia fled with others to the Hopi Indians of Arizona, there building, in all probability, a now-ruined but evidently historical pueblo, called Payupki, on the Middle Mesa. It is significant that the same name is applied by the Hopi also to the present Sandia pueblo. On Otermin's return to New Mexico in 1681 for the purpose of reconquering the province, he destroyed Sandia, but in 1748 it was rebuilt near its present site by Fray Juan Miguel Menchero, who was granted authority by the governor, Don Joaquin Codallos y Rabal, to reëstablish the town, settling therein 350 of the 441 Tigua brought from the Hopi country (Tusayan) six years before by Fathers Delgado and Pino, together, probably, with scattered natives of other pueblos. On the refounding of the mission the name was changed from San Francisco to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The population of Sandia in 1910 was 73, a loss of about one-half in a very few years, whereas at about the time of the revolt of 1680 its inhabitants, according to Vetancurt (an excellent authority on Pueblo population), were estimated to number 3,000. Consult Bandelier, op. cit.; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 243 et seq.; Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, p. 214 et seq.; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, I, pp. 235–237, 1914. F. W. H.

24. Isleta (Spanish, "islet," so called from the location of the village, before the Rio Grande changed its course, on a delta or island between the bed of a mountain torrent and the river). A Tigua pueblo on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 12½ miles south of Albuquerque, in Bernalillo county. Its native name is *Shi-e-hwib'-bak*, signifying "knife laid on the ground to play (the game of) *hwib*," perhaps in allusion to the knife-like shape of the lava ridge on which the pueblo is built (Lummis, *Man Who Married the Moon*, p. 4). Although the contrary is stated by Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 234), Lummis, who resided at Isleta as a student for several years, asserts that that pueblo is one

of only two (Acoma being the other) that stand on the sites occupied when Coronado visited New Mexico in 1540. The first missionary to Isleta was Fray Juan Claros, who with other friars went to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598 (see note 6), but in addition to Isleta, Fray Juan ministered to all the Tigua and Piro villages of the Rio Grande. The first permanent mission established at Isleta, however, according to Benavides, who is followed by Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 310, repr. 1871), was dedicated to San Antonio de Padua, but as the patron saint of Senecú as well as of Alamillo was also San Antonio, it is possible that San Agustin, its later and present mission name, may have been intended. The original church and monastery, erected by Fray Juan de Salas (note 8) prior to July, 1629, were regarded by both Benavides and Vetancurt as unusually fine in their day. Previous to the Pueblo revolt of 1680, Isleta had received important accessions of population from the Tigua pueblos of the Manzano, notably Chililí, Quaraí, and Tajique, when their pueblos were abandoned on account of Apache depredations between 1669 and 1674; so that at the time of the revolt, its population, according to Vetancurt, was 2,000. As the Spanish settlers along the lower Rio Grande took refuge in Isleta as soon as the uprising occurred in 1680, thus interrupting communication between its inhabitants and the seat of the insurrection at the northern villages, the Isleta Indians did not participate in the massacre of the colonists and priests in the vicinity. When Otermin retreated from Santa Fe, however, he found the pueblo abandoned, the inhabitants having joined the rebels. In 1681 Otermin surprised and captured the village, and on returning from his northern tour, January 1, 1682, took with him to El Paso the 385 Indians found there; these were settled on the northeastern bank of the Rio Grande, a few miles below El Paso, Texas, the name Isleta del Sur ("Isleta of the South") being applied to their pueblo, and the old Saint name, San Antonio, being at first retained, but later changed to Corpus Cristi. The date of the reëstablishment of the northern Isleta is somewhat in doubt, but there is good evidence that some scattered Tigua families were reassembled at the ruined village in 1709, and that these were joined by many others who, with those of Sandia, had fled to Tusayan, Arizona, between 1680 and 1692. Tomé and Belen, in which had been established numerous *genizaros*, or redeemed captives, were *visitas*, or sub-missions of Isleta in 1788 (Tomé was completely destroyed by freshet in the spring of 1905). The population of Isleta in 1910 was 910. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 233 et seq; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 1911; Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, xv, pp. 93–147, Austin, Oct. 1911, and "The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso," ibid., xvi, pp. 137–168, 259–276. F. W. H.

25. Queres Nation. Benavides, like earlier Spanish chroniclers, used the aboriginal designation (*K'eres*) of this "nation," which forms a distinct linguistic stock embracing the inhabitants of villages on the Rio Grande between the Rito de los Frijoles (where, before being confined to reservations they joined the Tewa country on the north) and the Rio Jemez, as well as on the latter stream from the pueblo of Sia to near its mouth. The western division of the Queres, or Keresan, stock comprises the pueblos of Acoma and Laguna, whose

people speak a slightly different dialect. Laguna, however, did not exist in Benavides' time, it having been founded by various other villagers near the close of the century. Like other Pueblo tribes the Queres maintain that they had their origin at Sipapu, or Shipapu, in the far north, and that they slowly drifted southward to the Rio Grande, taking up their abode in the Rito de los Frijoles, or Tyuonyi, where they excavated the cavate lodges which still honeycomb the cliffs (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, cap. iv; also his *Delight Makers*, N. Y., 1890). Long before the coming of the Spaniards they had abandoned the Rito, and, moving farther southward, separated into a number of autonomous village communities. According to Coronado, who visited the "Quirix" province in 1540–42, these Indians occupied seven pueblos, exclusive of Acoma and Sia. Forty years later Espejo found the "Quires" province to comprise five towns, but these did not include Acoma, nor Sia and Santa Ana, which latter two belonged to his Punames or Cunames province. There was thus comparatively little change in the number and location of the Queres pueblos between the date of Coronado's visit and the establishment of missions in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. As in Benavides' time San Felipe is the first Queres pueblo met in journeying northward; then come Santo Domingo and Cochití, with Sia and Santa Ana on the Rio Jemez to the westward. The first missionary assigned to the Queres was Fray Juan de Rosas (see note 6), of Oñaté's colony, in 1598, but no attempt was made to erect churches until after the beginning of the seventeenth century. The aggregate Queres population in 1910 was 3,996. The three monasteries and churches among the Queres, mentioned by Benavides, "aside from those which each pueblo has," were probably those still existing at the time of the Pueblo revolt of 1680, namely, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 315–316, 322, ed. 1871).

A brief notice of the early history of each of the present Queres pueblos will be of interest:

San Felipe. This village, which is mentioned by Benavides, is situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande, about 12 miles above Bernalillo. Before the advent of the Spaniards in New Mexico, probably in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the ancestors of the inhabitants of this pueblo and of Cochití formed a single tribe occupying successively a number of pueblos, the last of which was called Kuapa. Owing to the aggressiveness of the Tewa, whose territory formed their northern boundary, says Bandelier, this Queres group was forced to separate into two divisions, one (the Cochití) retiring to the Potrero Viejo, the other going farther down the Rio Grande to the site of the present Mexican hamlet of Cubero, on the west bank of the river, where they built the pueblo of Katishtya. Subsequently this village was abandoned and a new one, bearing the same name, constructed at the foot of the black mesa of Tamita, where the San Felipe tribe was found by Coronado in 1540. In 1591, Castaño de Sosa visited the pueblo and probably gave it the Saint name by which it is now commonly known. Seven years later (1598) Oñate also visited San Felipe, and his narrative applies the name "Castixes" (Katishtya) collectively to the pueblos of San Felipe and "Comitre." This is doubtless an error in copying, however, the latter name being apparently a misprint or corruption of Tamita, the name of the mesa at the foot of which the pueblo of San Felipe stood. It was the seat of a Spanish mission at an early date, and its first church was erected by Fray Cristóbal de Quiñones, who died at the pueblo in 1609, and was buried in the church he had founded (see note 6). This pueblo was also the residence of the Father Custodian in 1636, but not as a permanent seat. The name of the resident priest in Benavides' time is not known, but Fray Gerónimo de Pedraza professed in 1608, in Mexico, and died at San Felipe, May 5, 1664. The San Felipe Indians took an active part in the Pueblo revolt of 1680, and as there was then no resident priest at their pueblo to murder, they aided in the massacre of the missionaries of Cochití and Santo Domingo (including their own who resided at the latter village), as well as in the slaughter of the Spanish colonists in the neighboring haciendas and of some of the members of their own tribe who remained faithful to the Spaniards. In the latter part of 1681 the pueblo was deserted by its inhabitants, who fled with the Cochiteños and others to Potrero Viejo, but returned in 1683 (see Cochití, below). Between the latter date and 1692, when Vargas made his appearance in New Mexico, they again retreated with the other tribes to the Potrero, but the Felipeños were induced by the Spaniards to return. When Vargas appeared the following year he found the San Felipe Indians in a new pueblo on the summit at the northern end of the long black mesa (Tyit-i Tzat-ya) northwest of the present village, which had been built subsequent to 1683. Here a church was erected in 1694, a part of the walls of which are still standing. Soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century, when there was no further necessity of a defensive site, the tribe left its mesa settlement and erected at its base the San Felipe of the present time — the fourth pueblo that has borne the aboriginal appellation Katishtya. No remains of the old pueblo near the mesa of Tamita are traceable. San Felipe was made a *visita* of Santo Domingo in 1782. Its population in 1910 was 490. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 126, 1890; pt. 2, 187 et seq., 1892.

Santo Domingo. Near the east bank of the Rio Grande, about 20 miles above Bernalillo. The earliest traditions of its inhabitants, according to Bandelier, locate their pueblo at the Potrero de la Cañada Quemada, whence, in prehistoric times, they removed successively to two pueblos, each named Gipuy, the later one of which they occupied when Oñate visited them in 1598. The earlier Gipuy stood on the banks of the Arroyo de Galisteo, more than a mile east of the present station of Domingo, but it was partially destroyed by a freshet, the inhabitants being compelled to move farther westward where the second Gipuy was built. This pueblo, which also was washed away, was succeeded by Huashpa Tzena, on the Rio Grande, but it suffered the fate of its predecessors. The present Santo Domingo, called by the natives Ki-ua, has had three disasters since its establishment two hundred years ago, the latest occurring in 1886 when both churches were destroyed. At the time of Juan de Oñate's visit in 1598, Santo Domingo was chosen as the Convento de la Advocación de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpcion (*Doc. Inéd de Indias*, XVI, 254). It became the seat of a mission at an early date, its first church being erected by Fray Juan de Escalona, *Comisário*, who died there in 1607 (see note 6). After 1782 Santo Domingo had San Felipe and Cochití as *visitas*. Its population in 1910 was 817. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 260; pt. 2, p. 184 et seq.

Cochití. From *Ko-tyi-ti*, or *Qo-tyi-ti*, the native name of the pueblo. On the west bank of the Rio Grande, 27 miles southwest from Santa Fe. Before moving to their present location, according to Bandelier, the inhabitants successively occupied the Tyuonyi, or Rito de los Frijoles, the Potrero de las Vacas, the pueblo of Ha-a-tze on Potrero San Miguel or Potrero del Capulin, and the pueblo of Kuapa in the Cañada de Cochití. Up to this time, which was still before the earliest Spanish explorations, the inhabitants of Cochití and San Felipe formed one tribe, but on account of the hostilities of their northern neighbors, the Tewa, the tribe was divided, one part going southward where they built the pueblo of Katishtya (see San Felipe, above), while the other took refuge on the Potrero Viejo where they established a village known as Hanut Cochití. On the abandonment of this village they retired 6 or 7 miles southeastward to the site of the present Cochití pueblo on the Rio Grande where they were found by Oñate in 1598. The Cochiteños took an active part in the Pueblo revolt of 1680, but remained in their pueblo for 15 months after its outbreak. At the end of this time, however, learning of the return of Governor Otermin from El Paso to reconquer New Mexico, they retreated with their kindred of Santo Domingo and San Felipe, reënforced by some Tano from San Marcos and Tigua from Taos and Picurís, to the Potrero Viejo, where they remained until about 1683, at which date it was reported that all the villages north of San Felipe had been reinhabited. In 1683 the Cochiteños, with their San Marcos and San Felipe allies, again took refuge on the Potrero Viejo, where, with the inhabitants of San Felipe and San Marcos, they built a large village. In October, 1692, they were visited in their fortified abode, known to the Spaniards as Cieneguilla, by Vargas, the reconqueror of New Mexico, who induced them to promise to return to their permanent villages on the Rio Grande. But only the Queres of San Felipe proved sincere, for in the same year the Cochiteños and the San Marcos people returned to the Potrero where they remained until April of the following year, when Vargas, with 70 soldiers, 20 colonists, and 100 warriors from the now friendly Queres of San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Sia, assaulted the town on the night of April 16–17 and forced the Cochiteños to flee after a loss of 21 killed, and 342 women and children captured. The Indian allies leaving for the protection of their own homes and the force of Vargas becoming thus weakened, the Cochiteños returned on April 21, surprised the Spaniards, and succeeded in liberating half of their captives. Vargas remained until the 24th, when he burned the pueblo and evacuated the Potrero, taking with him to Santa Fe a large quantity of corn and other booty (including 70 horses and 900 sheep), and nearly 200 captive women and children. Cochití was the seat of the mission of San Buenaventura, with 300 inhabitants, according to Vetancurt, in 1680, but it was reduced to a visita of Santo Domingo after 1782. Its population in 1910 was 237. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 139 et seq.

Sia. An adaptation of *Tsia*, the aboriginal name. Situated on the northeast bank of the Rio Jemez, about 16 miles northwest of Bernalillo. Coronado (1541) mentions a single village of the tribe, but Espejo (1583) visited the "province," which he called Punames or Cunames, describing it as containing five pueblos, of which Sia was the largest. Oñate (1598) accounts for four pueblos of the Trias or Trios, to which was assigned, with other pueblos for missionary labor, Fray Andrés Corchado. Near the present Sia are the ruins of at least two villages which Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 196) regards as possibly having belonged to the cluster mentioned by Espejo. Sia engaged with the other Pueblos in the great revolt of 1680, making a determined stand for nine years, when, in August, 1689, they were assaulted by Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate who wrecked the pueblo and decimated the tribe in the most bloody engagement of the rebellion. The friendly attitude of these Indians toward the Spaniards from this time until the close of the second revolt in 1696 created considerable friction between them and the Jemez and Cochití. Sia was the seat of the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción at an early date, since Fray Bernardo de Marta, who went to New Mexico in 1605, died there thirty years later (see note 6). Santa Ana and Jemez were its visitas after 1782. On the authority of Bandelier the pueblo owes its decline after the revolt to the constant inter-killing going on for supposed evil practices of witchcraft. The population in 1910 was 109. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 260; pt. 2, p. 194 et seq; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim. For an ethnological memoir on the tribe, see Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, 1894.

Santa Ana. Native name, *Tamáyá*. On the northeast bank of the Rio Jemez, about 8 miles southeast of Sia. The original pueblo, according to Bandelier, stood near the Mesa del Cangelon, west of the Rio Grande and north of Bernalillo; but this was abandoned before the advent of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, and another built, about midway between the present Santa Ana and San Felipe, on the great black mesa of San Felipe. This was the village visited in 1598 by Oñate, who referred to it as Tamy and Tamaya—the latter being the name applied by the inhabitants to both this pueblo and its predecessor. It was early the seat of a Spanish mission, and although it had no resident priest at the time of the revolt, it was not without a church and monastery. In the revolt the Santa Ana tribe joined the natives of San Felipe in the massacre of the priests at Santo Domingo and the colonists in the Rio Grande valley. As the pueblo was situated west of the Rio Grande it was not molested by Governor Otermin during his attempt to reconquer New Mexico in 1681, but in 1687 Pedro Reneros de Posada, then Governor at El Paso, carried the pueblo by storm after a desperate resistance, and burned the village, several Indians perishing in the flames. When Vargas made his appearance in 1692 the tribe occupied a mesa known as Cerro Colorado, 10 miles to the north, and eastward from Jemez, but were induced to return to their former locality where they built the pueblo now occupied, and which, like the two others, is known as Tamaya. In 1782 Santa Ana was a *visita* of Sia. Its population in 1910 was 211. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 126; pt. 2, p. 193 et seq.; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 200 et passim.

For an account of ACOMA and LAGUNA, see note 36. F. W. H.

26. Tompiros. Benavides was the first to employ this name for the Piro of the Salinas, east of the Rio Grande, although he improperly included in the term the Tigua villages of that section. (See notes 17, 22.) Like many of the early writers Benavides is sometimes loose in his directions and distances, as he is also in population; for example, he states that the chain of pueblos extending southward from Chililí begins "toward the east ten leagues from the foregoing nation" of Queres. Lest some student of the subject should be misled by such statements, it may be well to mention that the expression "toward the east" (*ázia el Oriente*), or toward any other direction, so frequently used by early Spanish authorities, should by no means be construed to mean *due* east, etc., but *eastwardly;* i.e., anywhere in a generally eastward direction — in fact

almost anywhere east of a north-and-south line. It seems scarcely necessary to call attention to such an obviously simple interpretation, yet at least one writer on the Spanish exploration of the Southwest has taken every such expression as the one cited to mean not what the author intended, but what would best give substance to a phantom argument presented in the face of all other evidence, however incontrovertible. Examples of such looseness might be quoted from practically every chronicler who wrote of New Mexico from its discovery in 1539 to the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, were it necessary to prove the point, for they are almost as numerous as the exaggerations in population and the over-estimates or under-estimates in distance. The directions given were frequently based on the route traveled; for instance, in journeying from the Queres pueblos to Chililí, which lies to the southeastward, it was necessary to make a wide detour toward the east in order to avoid the rugged Sandia mountains. The pueblos of the Salinas, by the way, were generally approached from the north, thus making Chililí "el primer pueblo del valle de Salinas" (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 324, repr. 1871). Even in an air-line, however, the distance from San Felipe, the nearest Queres pueblo, to Chililí was more nearly fifteen than ten leagues, while the distance measured by the route necessarily traveled must have been double that. Concerning Benavides' population figures, more anon. Farther on in the *Memorial*, under his references to the Tano and the Pecos tribes, Benavides again gives the *general* direction only. In the former case the direction from Chililí to Galisteo (the principal Tano pueblo) is given as "toward the north," whereas, strictly speaking, it is east of north. And so with "the same north" to "Peccos," which is really northeast — as in many other instances throughout the work. F. W. H.

27. Chililí. This Tigua pueblo was situated on the Arroyo de Chililí, about 25 miles southeast of Albuquerque. The town was inadvertently mentioned as a "captain" of a pueblo by Oñate in 1598; the next reference is that of Benavides. The church, which was dedicated to La Navidad de Nuestra Señora, was probably erected before Benavides' custodianship by Fray Alonso Peinado, who went to New Mexico about 1608 and who was buried at Chililí after 1617 (see note 6). Like the other pueblos of this section, Chililí was abandoned between 1669 and 1676 on account of Apache raids. Most of the inhabitants fled to the Tigua of the Rio Grande, but some joined the Mansos at El Paso. The population of Chililí before its abandonment was about 500, according to Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 324, repr. 1871), who incorrectly states that its inhabitants were Piro. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, pp. 128–131; pt. 2, pp. 113, 255–257; and in the *Fifth Report of the Archæological Institute of America*, p. 34, 1884. See also Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," in *Land of Poco Tiempo*, p. 286 et seq., 1893. F. W. H.

28. Tano. From *T'han-u-ge*, their own name, which, according to Harrington, signifies "live down country people" in the existing Tewa language. This division of the Tanoan linguistic stock (the others being the Tewa, Tigua, Piro, and Jemez) is now extinct as an autonomous group. In early times, according to Bandelier, they formed the southern division of the Tewa, and during the early historical period they inhabited several pueblos, principally in the basin of the Galisteo, some 20 miles southward from Santa Fe. The Tano were

visited by Coronado in 1541 on his way to Pecos (he mentions the pueblo of Ximena, which Bandelier identifies with Galisteo), again in 1583 by Espejo who found them two days' journey east of the Rio Grande in eleven pueblos forming the province of Magrias, or Maguas, with 40,000 inhabitants — a vastly exaggerated estimate; later Espejo went eastward twelve leagues from the Queres and found the province of Ubates, or Hubates, with 20,000 Indians in five pueblos. Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 87) identifies the Magrias province of Espejo with the Tano habitat in the basin of the Galisteo, and attributes the province of Hubates or Ubates (corrupted from *Puya-tye*, the Queres name of the Tano) to the same (*Gilded Man*, p. 285), while Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 89) thinks it likely that the Ubates province was the group of Tewa pueblos north of Santa Fe, and that Espejo's Tamos is identical with Tano but included also Pecos. At any rate Espejo's narrative is rather confused, and it is difficult to harmonize his "provinces" with the groups of pueblos as known at a later period. (For a recent discussion of the attempts to identify the names applied by the early Spaniards to these pueblo groups, see Nelson, "Pueblo Ruins of the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, xv, pt. 1, New York, 1914.) Castaño de Sosa visited the Tano in 1591, naming San Lúcas (Galisteo), San Marcos, and San Cristóbal. Oñate (1598) mentions "Glistéo," which he named Santa Ana, while he records also San Marcos under that name as well as under the designation Yates (aboriginal name, Yaatze), and San Cristóbal he designates by the name applied by Castaño de Sosa, but spelled Chripstobal, Sant Xpoval, Sant Xupal. Juan de Rosas was assigned to look after the spiritual welfare of the Tano and some of the Queres at this time, but no churches were erected among them at so early a date. According to Bandelier the vicinity of Santa Fe was also occupied by Tano in prehistoric times, and ruins of their villages may still be traced in that locality. The Tano had already suffered severely from the invasions of the wild Querechos, or Apaches Vaqueros, and the "Teyas" (who were met on the plains by Coronado in 1541), before the advent of the Spaniards. As to which were the five villages of the Tano mentioned by Benavides, there seems to be some doubt, as contemporary authorities conflict in regard to the language of the inhabitants of the pueblos of the region long occupied by the Tano — some stating that they were Queres, others that they belonged to the Tano. Bandelier, however, is inclined to the opinion that all the pueblos of the Galisteo region were Tano, and if this be true, the five pueblos of this tribe alluded to by Benavides were possibly Galisteo, San Marcos, San Lázaro, San Cristóbal, and Ciénega. All of these still existed at the beginning of the Pueblo revolt of 1680–92, in which, as well as in the lesser insurrections of 1694 and 1696, the Tano took such an active part and met with such reverses that they were virtually exterminated. When the rebellion actually began on August 10, 1680, the Tano were among the first to appear before Santa Fe, to which the Indians laid siege for five days, when they were driven off (see note 30). After the retreat of the Spaniards the Galisteos took possession of the Palácio and other public offices, which they fortified, while the natives of San Lázaro and San Cristóbal settled north of Santa Fe, where Santa Cruz de la Cañada was established a few years later. The inhabitants of San Marcos and Ciénega also abandoned their pueblos, the former joining the Queres of Cochití and San Felipe, the latter possibly mixing with their kindred at Santa

Fe and the Cañada or with those of San Marcos. The result of the visit by Vargas in 1692 and the disaster which befell the Tano of Galisteo in 1693–94 when they refused to vacate the provincial offices at Santa Fe is related in note 30. Vargas continued northward from Santa Fe in 1692, receiving the submission of the Pueblos en route, including the new San Cristóbal and San Lázaro on October 2; but San Marcos and Galisteo were found deserted when visited later in the month. In January, 1694, the Indians were ready for another revolt. The Tano of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro joined the Tewa who (with the exception of those of San Juan) entrenched themselves on the Mesa of Tuyo or San Ildefonso, two miles south of the pueblo of the latter name. Vargas made four expeditions against the mesa, three of which proved unsuccessful. The first was on January 28, 1694, and as the Tewa made proposals of surrender, Vargas returned to Santa Fe without making an attack upon them. But as the Indians soon after resumed hostilities, he invested the mesa from the 27th of February to the 19th of March, making an effectual assault on the 4th of March. A third attempt was made on the 30th of June, without result; and finally, on the 4th [8th] of September, after a siege of five days the Tewa surrendered (see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 82; also Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 207–208 et seq., for additional details from Spanish documents). Various causes led to the disaffection of the Indians again in the following year (1695), on April 12th of which was founded the new town of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, where the San Cristóbal and San Lázaro Tano had settled. Being unwisely dispossessed of their lands, many of the Tano were forced to join the Tewa, particularly those of San Juan. For a while comparative quiet prevailed, the missions were rehabilitated, and new frailes were provided; but disaffection again arose in the Indian ranks, and notwithstanding the warning of the missionaries, practically no steps were taken to avert another revolt which began on June 4, 1696, by the massacre of Fray José de Arvizu of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro, and four other missionaries. Expeditions were sent against them with the usual result — the Indians were at least nominally again at peace with the Spaniards by the close of the year, but not before Vargas, in October, had captured 84 women and children of San Juan and Picurís (among whom were probably some Tano allies), distributing them as servants among his soldiers. By the middle of the following year even the outlying tribes as far as Zuñi had professed allegiance. About this time and perhaps earlier, some Tano, especially those of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro, evidently went to live in Tusayan among the Hopi. Early in 1697 Santa Cruz de Galisteo was resettled by some Tano (Bancroft, op. cit., p. 221), but it would seem that the Indians did not remain, for the pueblo (renamed Santa Maria) was reëstablished by Governor Cuerbo y Valdés in 1706, with 18 Tano families (90 souls), who had been living at Tesuque. Thus were the Tano two of whose villages, according to Vetancurt, numbered 1,400 inhabitants prior to the revolt, scattered to the winds. Today there are a few Indians at Santo Domingo who recognize their Tano descent, but as an ethnic group the Tano are extinct. A brief note on each of the historical Tano villages follows:

Galisteo (native name, *Tagewinge*, or, according to Harrington, *T'anuge'oñwikeji*, "down-country place pueblo ruin"). Situated a mile and a half northeast of the present hamlet of the same name, 22 miles south of Santa Fe.

It became the seat of the mission of Santa Cruz perhaps as early as 1617, Fray Antonio de Aranda being one of its missionaries before the revolt of 1680, but its name was changed to Nuestra Señora de los Remédios (known also as Santa Maria) in 1706. In 1680 it contained 800 neophytes, had a church, and a resident priest who ministered also to San Cristóbal as its *visita*. This was doubtless the church and monastery among the Tano to which Benavides alludes. On the breaking out of the Pueblo revolt, August 10, 1680, the natives killed their missionary, Fray Juan Domingo de Vera, besides the Father Custodian Fray Juan Bernal (who resided at Galisteo), the missionaries of San Marcos and Pecos, and several Spanish citizens. (For Galisteo during the revolt, see above.) In 1712 its population was 110; in 1749 it numbered 350, but it was later decimated by smallpox and the hostility of the Comanche, combined probably with the natives of Pecos and some of the Queres tribes. In 1760 the mission was made a *visita* of Pecos; by 1782 its population had dwindled to 52, and by 1793 the remnant of the tribe abandoned its pueblo and moved to Santo Domingo where their descendants now reside. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, pp. 88, 101 et seq.; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim, and authorities therein cited; Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, New York, 1867, p. 213, and especially the paper by N. C. Nelson cited at the close of this note.

San Marcos (Tewa name *Kunyãoñwikeji*, "turquoise pueblo ruin," according to Harrington; Queres name, *Yaatze*). Situated 18 miles southwest of Santa Fe. Some early authorities say that San Marcos was inhabited by Queres, but Bandelier is inclined to think that the aboriginal inhabitants were Tano, although there may have been Queres among them. It was the seat of a mission with 600 neophytes in 1680, having San Lázaro and Ciénega as *visitas;* but its Saint name was originally given by Castaño de Sosa in 1591. The church was destroyed during the insurrection, the missionary, Padre Manuel Tinoco, killed while at Galisteo, and the pueblo permanently abandoned. The people of San Marcos joined the Queres of Cochití during the revolt (see note 25), and may possibly have become permanently affiliated with them or with those of Santo Domingo. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 125; pt. 2, p. 92; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim.

San Lázaro (native name, *Ip-e-re*, according to Bandelier, but Harrington was not able to verify this name nor to learn any other Tewa name for the pueblo). Situated 12 miles southwest of Lamy station, on the eastern slope of the Sierra del Real de Dolores, on the southern bank of the Arroyo del Chorro. Prior to the insurrection it was a *visita* of San Marcos, but between 1680 and 1692 its inhabitants deserted it, transferring their settlement to the vicinity of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, near San Juan, and applying the same name — Ipere. This was abandoned in 1692, but was subsequently reoccupied; it was again deserted in 1694, the occupants being scattered among the Tewa villages and some of them evidently going to the Hopi of Tusayan. See Bandelier in *Archæol. Inst. Papers*, I, p. 22; also *Final Report*, ibid., IV, pt. 2, pp. 83, 105; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 185, 214.

San Cristóbal (native name *Yamp'hamba*, according to Bandelier, which probably signifies "narrow belt of willows" according to Harrington). The history of this pueblo is practically identical with that of its neighbor San Lázaro. It was first named San Cristóbal in 1591 by Castaño de Sosa, who was followed by Oñate seven years later when the names previously mentioned (see above, under *Tano*, this note), were given. After being dispossessed of their lands at Santa Cruz de la Cañada by the establishment of the town of that name, April 12, 1695, many of the inhabitants of the new San Cristóbal were scattered among the Tewa villages, particularly San Juan, and some of them probably joined the Hopi of Arizona. In the rebellion of the Pueblos in 1696 the remaining San Cristóbal Indians murdered their missionary, Fray José de Arbizu, on June 4, and fled with the Tewa, but surrendered to Vargas in the following October.

Ciénega (native name *Tziguma*, signifying "lone cottonwood tree," according to Bandelier). This village, which was situated on the site of the present Alamo Solo, 12 miles southwest of Santa Fe, was a *visita* of San Marcos at the time of the revolt of 1680, when, or shortly after, it was abandoned. An attempt was made to resettle the pueblo in 1695, but with little success, the fate of its inhabitants doubtless being the same as that of their kindred. It was uninhabited in 1749. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 125; pt. 2, pp. 91–92; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim.

Bandelier regards Benavides' estimate of 4,000 Tano to be reasonable, "although probably a little above the true number." For further information regarding this people, and the other villages which they probably occupied both in prehistoric times and during the early part of the Spanish régime, see Bandelier in Ritch's *New Mexico*, p. 201, 1885; *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 123 et seq.; pt. 2, pp. 83, 87 et seq.; *Gilded Man*, p. 284; also Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 322, 324, repr. 1871; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim, and the numerous works and documents therein cited. For an excellent account of archeological excavations conducted by the American Museum of Natural History, of New York, in several of the Tano ruins, see N. C. Nelson, "Pueblo Ruins of the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, xv, pt. 1, New York, 1914. F. W. H.

29. Pecos (from *Paequiu*, or *Paequiula*, the native name of the tribe. One of the Isleta names of the pueblo is *Sikuyé*, whence the Cicuique, Cicuyé, Acuique, Cicuic, etc., of the first Spanish chroniclers). This pueblo, which was once the most populous in all New Mexico, was situated near the Rio Pecos, 18 miles southeast of Santa Fe, in western San Miguel county. It played an important part in the history of the expedition of 1540–42 under Coronado, who first learned of it through a Pecos chief, nicknamed "Bigotes," as a pueblo seventy leagues eastward (see note 26) from Zuñi or Cibola, where Coronado was then encamped. It was first visited by Hernando de Alvarado of Coronado's army, who reached it in five days' travel from Tiguex, which was near the present Bernalillo on the Rio Grande. The Indians received the Spaniards hospitably at first, presenting them with cloth and turquoises, "of which there are quantities in that region"— referring doubtless to the deposits in the Cerrillos which have been "mined" by the Pueblos from time immemorial, and which are now controlled by a New York corporation. Later the Pecos people showed hostility toward the Spaniards on account of unfriendly treatment. Pecos was the last pueblo seen by the army on its way from the Rio Grande to the plains of Quivira, and the first one met on its return. The chroniclers are explicit on this point. Even as late as the time of Vetancurt, who reports

on the insurrection of 1680, it was "el paso para los reinos de la Quivira" (*Crónica*, p. 323, repr. 1871). Castañeda's description of Pecos in 1540 is so interesting that it is well worthy of reproduction here: "Cicuye is a village of nearly five hundred warriors, who are feared throughout that country. It is square, situated on a rock, with a large court or yard in the middle, containing the estufas [*kivas*, or ceremonial chambers]. The houses are all alike, four stories high. One can go over the top of the whole village without there being a street to hinder. There are corridors going all around it at the first two stories, by which one can go around the whole village. These are like outside balconies, and they are able to protect themselves under these. The houses do not have doors below, but they use ladders, which can be lifted up like a drawbridge, and so go up to the corridors which are on the inside of the village. As the doors of the houses open on the corridor of that story, the corridor serves as a street. The houses that open on the plain are right back of those that open on the court, and in time of war they go through those behind them. The village is enclosed by a low wall of stone. There is a spring of water inside, which they are able to divert. [Bandelier observed the spring in 1880.] The people of this village boast that no one has been able to conquer them and that they conquer whatever villages they wish. The people and their customs are like those of the other villages." (Winship, "Coronado Expedition," *Fourteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pt. 1, p. 523.)

Fray Luis Descalona, or de Escalona, or de Ubeda, a lay brother belonging to Coronado's small band of frailes, remained at Pecos on the departure of the army for New Spain in 1542, hence he was the first missionary to minister to these villagers. He was doubtless killed by the natives before the close of the year (see note 4). Antonio de Espejo, in 1583, visited in a day's journey from the Ubates (see note 28), the province of the "Tamos" which contained, according to his narrative, three large pueblos, one of which was Cicuique, with an aggregate population of 40,000 (Espejo's population figures are always greatly exaggerated). It is possible that the other two villages forming Espejo's Tamos province belonged to the Tanos, who joined the Pecos on the southwest. In the winter of 1590–91 the Pecos Indians were visited by Castaño de Sosa, whose narrative affords little information on account of its indefiniteness; but in 1598, Oñate, the colonizer of New Mexico, visited the province of the Peccos or Pecos (he spells the name both ways), referring to it as the one which Espejo called the "province of Tamos," and naming Pecos pueblo Santiago. At this time Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned to minister to the spiritual welfare of the tribe as well as to that of the Indians of the Salinas, the Jumano, and the Vaqueros of the plains; but it is not probable that churches were erected at any of these settlements until some years later. It seems that Juan de Dios, a lay brother of Oñate's force, lived at Pecos, where he learned the language; but it is likely that he and Fray Francisco returned to Mexico with most of the other friars during Oñate's absence on the plains in 1601. Bandelier fixes the date of the founding of the church and the erection of the monastery of Pecos at about 1617, but the name of its founder is not recorded, nor is that of the resident fraile in Benavides' time. Fray Antonio de Ybargaray, however, was the missionary in 1636. At the time of the revolt of 1680, Pecos was accredited with more than two thousand souls (the same as given by Benavides in 1630); it had a fine church with six towers,

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dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula. Its resident priest was then Fray Fernando (not Francisco as Vetancurt has it) de Velasco, who was killed by his own Indians who had followed him nearly to Galisteo, whither he was going to warn his companions, on the day of the general uprising, August 10, 1680. The Pecos Indians otherwise actively participated in the insurrection, destroying their church and joining other hostiles in the siege of Santa Fe.

When Vargas entered Pecos during his journey of conquest in September, 1692, he found the pueblo deserted, but the Indians submitted to pacification by the middle of October and returned to their homes. The Comanche made their appearance in New Mexico about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Pecos suffered so severely from their depredations as well as from disease, in subsequent years, that by 1749 the population numbered only 1,000, and by 1760 it was reduced to 600 (including Galisteo). In 1792 the pueblo, with only 152 inhabitants, being no longer deemed of sufficient importance to maintain a resident priest, became a *visita* of the mission of Santa Fe. By 1797 the population increased to 189, but it soon declined again. In 1895 the writer was informed at Jemez by José Miguel Péco (called Zu-wâ-ng' in his own tongue), now deceased, that at the time when Governor Albino Perez was murdered (in August, 1837), he and the other survivors of his tribe still lived at Pecos, but in the following year they abandoned their crumbling village and departed for Jemez (Benavides' "Hemes"), whose inhabitants were their nearest kindred, a fact which Benavides recognized. One of the natives of Pecos (since deceased) was still living at Jemez in 1899, while the descendants of the five survivors of 1838 probably number a score. The church was still in a fair state of preservation when visited by Emory, August 17, 1846 (*Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, p. 37, pl., New York, 1848). As to its condition in 1880, see Bandelier, "A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos," *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*, Amer. Ser., I, pp. 37–133. For additional information consult Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 127; pt. 2, p. 125 et seq.; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 323, repr. 1871; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim; Winship, Coronado Expedition, *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology;* the narrations and documents of Espejo, Oñate, and Castaño de Sosa in *Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, tomos xv, xvi; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 2 vols.; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols.; Hewett, Studies on the Extinct Pueblo of Pecos, *American Anthropologist*, vol. vi, pp. 426–439, 1904. At this writing the Department of Archæology of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., is engaged in a systematic excavation of the ruins of Pecos pueblo and the repair of its church under the immediate direction of Dr. A. V. Kidder.

F. W. H.

30. Santa Fe. The early history of this first permanent settlement in the West, and the second in the United States (St. Augustine, Florida, was founded in 1565), has been greatly confused. If there is anyone in New Mexico who does not know the date of the discovery of the Western World, there is little doubt that he can give approximately the year of Coronado's advent into New Mexico; and there are many people of New Mexico who (though they should know better, for the best work in solving the problems of the history of their commonwealth was done by Bandelier in their very midst) will tell you that Santa Fe dates from 1540, or 1542, or thereabouts, and that their capital

was founded amidst a teeming Indian population. Most of those who disagree on this point believe that the town was established in 1582 or 1583 by Antonio de Espejo, unmindful of the fact that he went to New Mexico with probably fewer than twenty men, including an escort of fourteen soldiers, and that he returned to Mexico with his "force" after making a reconnoissance of the country that consumed only ten months. Nevertheless, facts were not allowed to stand in the way of enterprise, for the people of New Mexico in 1883 celebrated a so-called "Tertio-Millennial" of the supposed founding of their capital and the colonization of their territory by Espejo and his corporal's guard. The real founder of Santa Fe and colonizer of New Mexico was Juan de Oñate, who has frequently been mentioned in these notes. Oñate was a wealthy resident of Zacatecas, while his wife was a granddaughter of Montezuma, the Aztec chief. Oñate was granted authority to explore and colonize New Mexico as early as 1595, but it was not until February, 1598, that he was ready to proceed from the Rio Conchos in Chihuahua with his band of four hundred colonists, provided with seven thousand cattle and eighty-three wagons. Arriving at San Juan pueblo in New Mexico, July 11, the colonists commenced work in the following month on a new settlement within sight of San Juan (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 318, repr. 1871), near the mouth of the Rio Chama, at the Tewa Indian village of Yugewinge (called Yuque-yunque by Coronado's chroniclers), where the hamlet of Chamita now stands; or, as Zárate Salmerón states, "between this river [the Rio Grande] and that of Zama [Chama]." On August 23 was begun the erection of a chapel, which was finished by September 7 and dedicated the following day to San Juan Bautista. This settlement was first called San Francisco de los Españoles, but it later became known as San Gabriel, which was the name first given to Yugewinge, but apparently being transferred to the Spanish settlement after the natives joined their kindred at San Juan. Benjamin M. Read, historian, of Santa Fe, takes exception to the prevailing belief that the first settlement was at Yugewinge, and asserts (*Santa Fe New Mexican*, Nov. 24, 1914) that the first colony was established on the east side of the Rio Grande and that the first church was built in the pueblo of San Juan. On Oñate's return from a tour of exploration to the Gulf of California, April 25, 1605 (leaving his inscription on El Morro plainly dated April 16, *1606*), he doubtless commenced the establishment of the present Santa Fe, the only evidence contrary to the date given being the year of the inscription on El Morro and the indefinite statement in an early document that the Crown in 1608 fixed the government regulations of the province and granted a salary of two thousand ducats to the Governor, who immediately started to Santa Fe (Bandelier, *Gilded Man*, p. 287; compare his *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 124, and consult Bloom in *Old Santa Fe*, 1, pp. 9, 336–337, Santa Fe, Jan. 1914). Fray Alonso de Posadas, who was Custodian of New Mexico in 1660–64, a missionary for ten years previously, and who doubtless had access to the provincial archives prior to their destruction in the revolt of 1680, states explicitly in his *Informe á Su Magestad sobre las Tierras de Nuevo Méjico, Quivira y Teguayo* (Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa*, etc., pp. 53–67), written about 1684, that Oñate "descubrióla [la Villa de Santa Fé] el año de 1605." Oñate was succeeded in the governorship about 1608 by Don Pedro de Peralta. The first years of the new seat of government were not prosperous, for although eleven churches had been established in the province and fourteen thousand natives baptized by 1617

(Zárate Salmerón enumerates forty-three churches and 34,650 baptisms by 1626), the original colony had apparently dwindled to 48, including the military force. By Royal decree of May 20, 1620, the King, in response to a petition of January 3, 1617, directed the Viceroy to grant the necessary aid to the new settlement, with what result during the next decade we are informed by Benavides, who reported the population of Santa Fe at one thousand. The fine church which Benavides began to erect as soon as he became Custodian in 1622 to succeed the rude *jacal* (or hut of palisades chinked with mud) was the Parróquia, which stood on the site of the present Cathedral and which indeed is now embodied in the rear portion of that edifice. The well-known chapel of San Miguel (still pointed out by those in charge as having been erected in 1543!) dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, it having been built in that part of Santa Fe formerly known as the Barrio de Analco for the use of the Tlascalan or Mexican members of the colony. The chapel was practically destroyed by the Indians during the revolt of 1680, and although Vargas attempted its restoration by the aid of the natives, particularly the Tano who lingered in Santa Fe after the reconquest in 1692, the repairs were not completed until 1708–10, when Governor José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marqués de la Peñuela, took the matter in hand, finished the church, and had the following inscription placed on the main beam of the gallery, which is still well preserved:

> El Señor Marqués de la Peñuela hizo esta fábrica: El Alférez Real
> Don Agustin Flores Vergara su criado. Año de 1710.

The exterior of the church has been greatly modified in more recent years. Another church edifice in Santa Fe was the Capilla de los Soldados, or Military Chapel, otherwise known as the Castrense, and dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Luz. This seems to have been the chapel built between 1717 and 1722 by Governor Valverde y Cosío, at his private cost, on the south side of the plaza, facing the Governor's Palace. In 1760–61 Governor Francisco Antonio Marin del Valle and his wife had erected in it an elaborate reredos. About 1832 the chapel fell into disuse; in 1846 it was useless, but by 1855 it had been restored, for in that year Bishop (later Archbishop) Lamy was officiating therein. The fine altar carvings presented by the Marin del Valles were removed some time after this date to the Parróquia, and it now forms a part of the Cathedral. In addition to the remains of Don Diego de Vargas which it contains, as noted beyond, those of Fray Gerónimo de la Llana (who established the Quaraí mission in 1642, died at Tajique, July 19, 1659) and Fray Aséncio Zárate (who served at Picurís, dying there in 1632) were removed to the Parróquia in 1759 and are now consequently within the Cathedral walls. (See Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 238, 281; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 89; Abert, *Examination of New Mexico in 1846–47*, p. 456; Davis, *El Gringo*, pp. 166, 170, 175; Defouri, *Catholic Church in New Mexico*, p. 143 (this work is unreliable as respects early history); Ritch, *New Mexico Blue-Book*, ed. 1882; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 2 vols., 1911; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols., 1914; *Old Santa Fe* (a magazine), vol. I, Santa Fe, 1913–14; vol. II, 1914–15.) Nothing of great moment in the history of Santa Fe transpired between Benavides' time and the Pueblo insurrection, the fires of which smoldered for several years before they burst forth on August 10, 1680, when more than four hundred of the twenty-five hundred colonists and priests throughout the province were slain. On August 14, several hundred hostiles appeared in the suburb of Analco above referred to, in the vicinity of San Miguel church, and an effort on the part of the hundred armed men among the thousand Spaniards to drive them off, resulted in their own enforced retirement to the adobe Palace. Here they were besieged by the Indians, who now numbered three thousand, until August 20, when the Spaniards made a brave and successful sortie, killing three hundred of the Indians, capturing fifty whom they hanged in the plaza, and driving the remainder in confusion to the surrounding heights. On the following day the Spaniards assembled their little band, with such belongings as they could carry, and started on their long journey to El Paso (the present Juarez), leaving the Indians in practically peaceful possession of New Mexico for twelve years, although attempts to reconquer it in the interim were made. After the departure of the Spaniards the destruction of the town was made more nearly complete; the Tano of Galisteo took possession of the Palace, which, with other provincial buildings, they occupied until the reappearance of the Spaniards under Diego de Vargas, September 13, 1692. Although at first the Tano displayed defiance, they soon acknowledged allegiance. After extending the reconquest to other parts, and after various delays, Vargas returned to Santa Fe from El Paso, December 16, 1693, with a hundred soldiers, seventy families, and seventeen friars (said to be about eight hundred in all), who were to form the new colony. The Tano still occupied the official quarters, as well as some of the dwellings that had not been destroyed, and as these were needed by the new colonists, many of whose children had died from the cold, the Indians were ordered to return to their own pueblo of Galisteo. Refusing to comply with these demands, their stronghold was attacked; reinforcements from the Tewa arrived, but the natives were defeated, nine being killed in the affray, seventy prisoners shot, and four hundred women and children distributed among the colonists as "hostages," but were given up in 1694. Vargas was succeeded as governor in 1696 by Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, but was again appointed in 1703. He died suddenly at Bernalillo, April 8, 1704, and was buried in the Parróquia, which meanwhile was in process of reconstruction. The history of Santa Fe during the eighteenth century is not marked by any episode of great historical importance, aside from a freshet which seriously threatened the town in 1767, and the presentation of proposals to move the seat of government to Sia and to Santo Domingo. Its importance seems to have varied somewhat about the middle of the century, if we are to judge by its population, which consisted of 965 Spaniards and 570 Indians in 1749, a total population of 1,285 in 1760, 2,244 in 1788, 2,419 in 1793, and 4,194 in 1799. A brisk trade with Chihuahua sprang up in the meantime, which reached an aggregate value of 30,000 pesos in 1780. Almost with the beginning of the nineteenth century an overland commerce with the United States frontier over the Santa Fe Trail commenced — insignificantly at first, but growing in value of goods transported from $15,000 in 1822 to $750,000 in 1844. The more recent history of the city does not concern us here, but it may be mentioned that it was erected into an archdiocese by Pius IX in 1850 and created an archbishopric in 1875. In addition to the works above cited, consult Oñate in *Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, tomo XVI; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, with its valuable bibliographic notes; Bandelier, "The Age of the City of Santa Fe," in *The Gilded Man*, pp. 282–288; with which should be compared his *Final*

Report, pt. 1, pp. 58–62, 124–125; pt. 2, p. 89; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies;* Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers;* Hodge in *Historic Towns of the Western States*, New York, 1901; Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, 1912. F. W. H.

31. Teoas. These are the Tewa group of pueblos on and near the upper Rio Grande, northwest of Santa Fe, and another, established since Benavides' time, among the Hopi of Arizona. Benavides spells the name of the Tewa and the Tigua groups in the same way, save for the accent in Téoas (Tigua). According to Gatschet the name *tewa* signifies "houses," but Harrington regards the etymology as obscure. Almost the only information concerning the archeology of the Tewa is summarized by Bandelier in his *Final Report* (pt. 2, p. 51 et seq.), aside from the results of the more recent investigations by Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, for the New Mexico Normal University and the School of American Archæology, of the ruined Tewa pueblos in the Pajarito region (see Hewett, Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, *Bulletin 32, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1906). The Tewa were first visited by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo, of Coronado's army, in 1541. Castañeda, who records the fact, states that at "Yuqueyunque" (Yugewinge), to which he alludes as if it were a "province," "the whole nation left two very fine villages [the other was evidently Oh′-ke, or San Juan] which they had on either side of the river, entirely vacant, and went into the mountains, where they had four very strong villages in a rough country, where it was impossible for horses to go." (Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, pp. 510–511.) This group of pueblos was further described as being twenty leagues below Taos (Braba or Valladolid). Instead of six Tewa villages there must have been at least nine in Coronado's time; namely, Yugewinge, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Tesuque, Pojoaque, Cuyamunge, and Jacona, all of which, except Yugewinge, existed in Benavides' time (he mentions eight) as well as at the time of the Pueblo insurrection of 1680, although the last three must have been quite small. Espejo, in 1583, did not visit the Tewa, unless, as Bancroft is inclined to believe, his Ubates or Hubates province, with its 20,000 (*sic*) souls in five pueblos, represented that people—which his route of travel does not indicate. Castaño de Sosa (1591), so far as can be determined from his indefinite narrative, also visited the Tewa, as of course did Oñate, seven years later, who established the first European settlement west of Florida, at San Gabriel, or Yugewinge (see note 30). Oñate mentions also Sant Ylefonso or Bove, Sant Joan Batista or Caypa, Triapí, Triáqui, Troomaxiaquino, Xiomato, Axol, Camitría, and Quiotráco among his "Tépuas" pueblos, to minister to whose spiritual needs Fray Cristóbal de Salazar was assigned (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. XVI, pp. 115, 256). It should be noted that Oñate evidently transposed the names of San Juan and Santa Clara, the native names being Oh′-ke and K'hapóo ("Caypa") respectively. The other seven pueblos mentioned by him are not identifiable with any of the Tewa villages known to have been inhabited at that time, unless Triáqui is a misprint of Puáqui (Pujoaque or Pojoaque). The church and monastery among the Tewa pueblos mentioned by Benavides in addition to those at Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, were evidently at San Juan. These pueblos, as well as the others of the historical period, are described briefly below. The present Tewa population (including Hano) is about 1,100; about the year 1680 it was fewer than 2,500, consequently Benavides' estimate of 6,000 for the

eight pueblos in 1630 may be regarded as in excess of the actual number. For an important memoir on these Pueblos, consult John P. Harrington, "Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1916.

Yugewinge (of obscure etymology). This was the Yuqueyunque of Castañeda, as above mentioned, and the Yunque of later writers, at the site of which, opposite and in view of San Juan, at the mouth of the Rio Chama, where Chamita now stands, the first Spanish settlement was made in New Mexico in 1598, being transferred to Santa Fe in 1605. Meanwhile the Tewa voluntarily relinquished their village and joined their kindred at San Juan (see note 30; also Winship, op. cit., pp. 510, 525; Oñate in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. XVI, pp. 262–264; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 58 et seq., and *Gilded Man*, p. 286; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 318, repr. 1871).

San Juan. Native name *Oh'-ke*, or *'Okeoñwi'*, of obscure etymology according to Harrington. This pueblo stands near the east bank of the Rio Grande, twenty-five miles northwest of Santa Fe. According to tradition the San Juan Indians occupied, before the coming of the Spaniards, the pueblos of Pio-ge, Sajiu-uingge, and Phojiu-uingge, but moved to the vicinity of their present village before 1540. It formed the headquarters of Oñate and his colonists before the settlement of San Francisco de los Españoles was established across the river at Yugewinge in the autumn of 1598, and on account of their friendly reception of the Spaniards and of the people of Yugewinge after the latter relinquished their town to the colonists, the pueblo became commonly known as San Juan de los Caballeros ("Saint John of the Gentlemen"). It does not seem to have been the seat of one of the eleven churches in New Mexico in 1617, although in all probability one was erected in the early part of Benavides' custodianship, as there were eight churches among the Tewa pueblos during his time. Just before the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 it contained 300 inhabitants, who were ministered by the missionary at San Ildefonso. The San Juan Indians joined the other Tewa in the Pueblo revolt, but did not suffer from the reconquest as did some of the Queres villages, the inhabitants submitting without difficulty when Vargas appeared among them on October 2, 1692. The various allusions in books to the application of the name San Juan de los Caballeros because its inhabitants did not participate in the revolt are without foundation; indeed Popé, the leader of the insurrection, was a native of San Juan, although he sowed the seed of the uprising at Taos. San Juan had a population of 346 Spaniards and 404 Indians in 1749; in 1782, 500 inhabitants of San Juan and Santa Clara died of pestilence in two months; in 1793 the population was 260 Indians and 2,173 Spaniards; in 1850, 568 Indians. The population in 1910 was 384. Consult Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, pp. 21, 61 et seq., and documents cited therein; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 318, repr. 1871; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim; Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercúrio Volante*, Mexico, 1693; Oñate in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, tomo XVI.

Santa Clara. Native name *K'ha-pó-o*, said to mean "Where the wild rosebushes grow near the water," in connection with which note what Vetancurt (*Crónica*, pp. 317–318, repr. 1871) says of this pueblo: " . . . *lugar de árboles de manzanas, y donde se cogia mucha rosa de Castilla, lino y cáñamo,*" etc.; but Harrington does not regard any of the suggested meanings as correct.

This pueblo, to which the first Saint name was given by Oñate, is situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 20 miles northwest of Santa Fe and a mile and a half south of Española. Regarding the prehistoric habitations of the Santa Clara Tewa, known as Puyé and Shufiná or Shufinê, in the pumice cliffs *near Santa Clara cañon, see Bandelier, Final Report, pt. 2, p. 64 et seq.; Hewett,* "Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau," *Bulletin 32, Bureau of American Ethnology,* 1906. The church at Santa Clara was founded at least as early as 1617, while the monastery was established by Benavides himself (see page 45). In October, 1895, and again in the summer of 1899, the present writer was informed by a *viejo* of Santa Clara that the original K'ha-pó-o stood a few hundred yards northwest of the present village, whence its inhabitants moved to the Puyé mesa on account of Navaho inroads, but were finally induced by the Spaniards to build the present town (cf. Bandelier, op. cit., p. 65). Santa Clara had a population of 300 prior to the rebellion of 1680–92, in which it participated like the other Tewa villagers. It had no resident priest at that time, as the pueblo was a *visita* of San Ildefonso. Bandelier fixes the date of the erection of the present church at 1761, and states that "the former pueblo and church have long since disappeared, but their site is still known to the Indians, north of the pueblo." In 1782 Santa Clara and San Juan lost 500 of their people by an epidemic; in the same year it had a resident priest, and San Ildefonso was its *visita.* Population: 1749, 21 Spaniards and 277 Indians; 1760, 257; 1788, 452 (including Spaniards?); 1805, 186; 1850, 279; 1890, 225; 1910, 277. Bandelier states that the decline in population has been due largely to the constant interkilling for supposed evil practices of sorcery (*Archæological Institute Papers*, pt. 1, pp. 32–35; *Final Report*, pt. 2, pp. 23, 64 et seq.). See note 47.

San Ildefonso. Native name *P'o-hwó-ge*, "Place where the water runs." Situated near the east bank of the Rio Grande, about 18 miles northwest of Santa Fe. It was first mentioned in 1598 by Oñate as "Bove, que llamamos Sant Ylefonso" (Discurso, *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. XVI, p. 256), at which time it was situated a mile from the present village. It was the seat of a mission as early as 1617, and was provided with a church and monastery in Benavides' time, as noted in the text (page 24). At the outbreak of the revolt of 1680 it contained 800 inhabitants, and had two resident missionaries, Fray Antonio Sanchez de Pro and Fray Luis de Morales, who ministered also to the *visitas* San Juan and Santa Clara. Both of these were murdered on August 10 of the year named—the former while visiting Tesuque—and the church destroyed. When Vargas invaded New Mexico in 1692 the Tewa of San Ildefonso acknowledged their allegiance, on October 1, without protest; but on June 4, 1696, when several of the Pueblo tribes again rebelled, the San Ildefonso Indians killed their own missionary, Fray Francisco Corbera, as well as Fray Antonio Moreno of Nambé, and burned the church (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 82; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 216, 288; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 217, repr. 1871). Further details of the part which the Tewa played in this revolt are given above. Between 1717 and 1722 a new chapel was erected at the cost of Governor Antonio Valverde y Cosío. By 1782 the pueblo became a *visita* of Santa Clara. The population of San Ildefonso in 1749 was 422 (including 68 Spaniards); in 1793, 240; in 1805, 175; in 1809, 283; in 1871, 156; in 1910, 123.

Pojoaque. Native name, *P'osuñwäge* ("drink water place" — Harrington).

The smallest of all the Tewa pueblos, if indeed it can be regarded as a Tewa village at all, since its insignificant population has become almost completely Mexicanized through intermarriage. It is situated on the Rio Pojoaque, about four miles east of the Rio Grande, between San Ildefonso and Nambé, and about sixteen miles northwest of Santa Fe. According to Bandelier the pueblo was inhabited when Oñate occupied New Mexico in 1598. It is not mentioned even as a *visita* by Vetancurt at the close of the revolt of 1680, but its inhabitants participated in that uprising, after which it was abandoned, but was reëstablished by Governor Cuerbo y Valdés in 1706, with five families, under the name Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Pojoaque. It was known as San Francisco Pojoaque in 1749, when it was a *visita* of Nambé, and it evidently remained such until 1782 when it again had a resident priest who ministered also to Nambé and Tesuque. The population of Pojoaque in 1712 was 79; in 1788, 368 (including its *visitas?*); in 1793, 53; in 1798, 79. From the date last mentioned the population gradually declined, and the pueblo is now regarded as a "Mexican" village.

Nambé (from *Nambe'e*, "roundish earth," or *Nambe'oñwi*, "pueblo of the roundish earth," according to Harrington). Situated on the same stream as Pojoaque, which is named Rio Nambé higher up. Its mission of San Francisco may have been established in Benavides' time, when, like the other Tewa pueblos of the period, it contained a church. In 1680 it had a resident missionary, Fray Tomás de Torres, who ministered also to the two dependent missions of Jacona and Cuyamunge. The Nambé population of 600 at that time probably included these two *visitas*. Fray Tomás was killed and the church burned on August 10 of the year named. On June 4, 1696, when the Pueblos again revolted, their missionary, Fray Antonio Moreno, was killed at San Ildefonso while visiting Fray Francisco Corbera, who also was murdered. In 1749 Nambé had Pojoaque as a *visita*, the combined population of the two towns being 350; in 1760 the population of Nambé was 204; in 1793, 155; in 1798, 178; in 1805, 143, since which time it has steadily declined, largely on account of executions for witchcraft. The population in 1910 was 88.

Tesuque (said by Harrington to be probably the Spanish corruption of *Tatunge*, or *Tatunge'oñwe* ("pueblo down at the dry spotted place"), which in turn the Tewa have corrupted to *Tetsuge*). The southernmost of the Tewa pueblos, situated eight miles north of Santa Fe. It was the seat of the mission of San Lorenzo, probably established by Benavides, with 200 inhabitants in 1680 who were ministered by Fray Juan Bautista Pro (or Pio), who was murdered on August 10, when the church was destroyed. The name of the mission seems to have been changed to San Diego after the revolt, probably because the date of the uprising (August 10) was the day of San Lorenzo. The pueblo contained 507 Indians in 1749, and 232 in 1760, when it became a *visita* of Santa Fe. In 1782 it was a *visita* of Pojoaque. In 1793 it had 138 inhabitants, and 155 five years later. It has steadily declined in numbers since 1809. The population in 1910 was 77.

Cuyamunge ("pueblo ruin where they threw down the stones"—Harrington). This pueblo is situated eight miles southeast of Nambé and about three miles from the mouth of the Rio Tesuque. It was never of great importance in point of population; it was a *visita* of Nambé in 1680, participated with the other Tewa pueblos in the revolt of that year, and was finally abandoned in 1696. Three years later the site of the village was granted to Alonzo Real de Aguilar, and in 1731 to Bernardo de Sena. (See Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 317, repr. 1871; Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 85, 1892; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, p. 233, 1914.) For the part taken by Cuyamunge in the Pueblo revolt, see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 1889; Hackett in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 1911, XV, pp. 110, 112, 133.

Jacona. Native name *Sákonā*, meaning "at the tobacco barranca," according to Harrington. On the Rio Pojoaque, between Pojoaque and San Ildefonso. Its history is practically identical with that of Cuyamunge, and it was abandoned in the same year. In 1702 it became the property of Ignácio de Roybal (Bandelier, op. cit.). The name was often spelled *Xacona.*

Hano. From the Hopi *Hánomuh*, applied on account of the mode of hairdressing employed (Stephen in *Eighth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 37). The easternmost village of the Tusayan province of northeastern Arizona, the other six pueblos of the group being occupied by the Hopi, who belong to the Shoshonean, not the Tanoan, linguistic stock. The pueblo is of comparatively modern origin, and although the date of its settlement by the Tewa (possibly with some Tano) is uncertain, it is probable that it was founded by Indians of the Rio Grande in New Mexico but who were dispersed by the rebellion of 1696 and were later invited by the Hopi to join them in the defense of their mesa towns against predatory tribes from the north (see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 371; Fewkes in *Seventeenth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pt. 2, p. 636). Although largely intermarried with the Hopi, the Tewa of Hano preserve their language and some of their original ceremonies. The population of the pueblo was 110 families in 1782, according to Morfi (cited by Fewkes, op. cit.). It now numbers about 160. The pueblo is often improperly called Tewa, and following this misapprehension writers have applied to it practically all the forms used to designate the Tewa group of tribes. F. W. H.

32. Hemes. This is the Jemez tribe, so called by early Spaniards from their own name, *Hémish* (*he*, of obscure etymology; *mish*, plural: "Jemez people"). Their own name for their village is *Walatowa*, signifying "at the pueblo in the cañada," referring to Jemez cañada or cañon, according to Harrington. It should not be confounded with Valladolid, one of the early Spanish names for Taos. The Pecos name is *Hê'-wâ'*. A still important pueblo on a small river of the same name, a western tributary of the Rio Grande, in central Sandoval county, New Mexico. Castañeda, one of the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition, speaks repeatedly of seven "Hemes" pueblos in 1541, which were visited by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo, in addition to three others (possibly Gyusiwá, Amúshungkwa, and Kwastiukwa) in the province of Aguas Calientes, identified with the Jemez Hot Springs (Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, pp. 510, 519, 525). Espejo, in 1583, mentioned the province of the Emeges, Emexes, Ameies, Amejes, etc., six leagues northwest of his Province of Punames, or Cunames (the Sia group of villages), containing seven pueblos (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. XV, pp. 116, 179). In 1598 Oñate heard of eleven (no doubt including those of the Hot Springs), but saw only eight of the "Emmes" towns, yet he gives a list of nine (ibid., vol. XVI, pp. 102, 114). The names of these occur twice, and partly in order that it may be seen with what difficulties students must contend in endeavoring to harmonize some of the early Spanish

names of tribes and settlements with those given by the Indians today, both of Oñate's lists are presented: I.—1, Yxcaguayo; 2, Quiamera; 3, Fía; 4, Quiusta; 5, Leeca; 6, Poze; 7, Fiapuzi; 8, Triyti; 9, Caatri. II.—1, Yjar; 2, Guayoguia; 3, Mecastría; 4, Quiustá; 5, Ceca; 6, Potre; 7, Trea; 8, Guatitruti; 9, Catróo. So different are the two lists, either through direct change in spelling or by combination of a part of one name with part of another, that they do not at first appear to be intended for the same pueblos. Indeed, even Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 207), of exceptional astuteness in the identification of such names, numerates them as seventeen (eighteen) distinct villages. But let us list them in another way for the sake of illumination:

Yxca	guayo	Quia	mera	Fía	Quiusta	Leeca	Poze	Fia	puzi	Triyti	Caatri.
Yjar	Guayo	guia	Mecas	tría	Quiustá	Ceca	Potre	Trea	Guati	truti	Catróo.

The names of the villages formerly occupied by the Jemez, so far as Bandelier and the present writer have been able to record them, each after two brief visits (the latter in 1895 and 1899), are: Gyusiwá (where San Diego church was built; Bandelier's Gin-se-ua, Guin-se-ua; Zárate Salmerón's Quiumziqua, Qicinzigua, etc.), Amúshungkwa (B's Amoxiumqua, Amo-shium-qua; Z's Amox-unqua), Astialakwá (given to me as the name of one of the pueblos where a church — probably San Joseph — was built; B's Asht-ia-la-qua, Asht-ya-laqua; Loew's Ateyala-keokvá), Anúkwinu (B's Añu-quil-i-gui?), Būlitzikwá (B's Bul-itz-e-qua). Kiatsúkwa (B's Quia-tzo-qua), Séshukwa (B's Se-shiu-qua), Wābakwá (not given by B.; the ruins are north of the present Jemez), Hanakwá (B's Ham-a-qua), Nokyuntseletá (B's No-cum-tzil-e-ta), Óstyalakwa (distinct from Astialakwá; B's Osht-yal-a), Patokwá (B's Patoqua, Loew's Batokvá; probably the seat of San Juan mission), Pékwīligiĩ (B's Pe-cuil-a-gui), Pēbulikwá (B's Pem-bul-e-qua), Kiashíta (B's Quia-shi-dshi), Sētokwa (2 m. south of Jemez; B's Se-to-qua), Towakwá (B's To-ua-qua; cf. Túwa, a native name of the present pueblo), Ûnshāgiĩ, Nonyĩ'shāgí, Tyásoliwa, Kwastiyukwa (these four not recorded by B.), Zolátuñzezhiĩ (B's Zolatesedjii). In addition Bandelier records the names Ta-juin-den-a and Uā-hā-tza-e (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 207), which I did not note. Kwastiyukwa was undoubtedly occupied in historical times, as excavations in this ruin, situated on the great mesa west of the Rio Jemez, a short distance southwest of the Hot Springs, conducted in 1911, brought to light objects of European manufacture. An intelligent Jemez, one of several informants, suggested that (Oñate's) "Quiustá" might have been intended for Giutsutá, the name of a mesa near Jemez, but it seems just as likely to be a misprint or a misunderstanding of Gyusiwá. This last name signifies "water comes up," in allusion to the adjacent hot springs. The first missionary assigned to the Jemez was Padre Fray Alonso de Lugo, who was a member of Oñate's band and who had the spiritual welfare of the "Apades" (Benavides' "Apaches de Navajó") and "Cocoyes" (evidently one of the Yuman tribes that the Spaniards had heard of!) under his paternal care. No missions, however, were erected at so early a date. The first resident missionary, so far as known, was Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, to whom may be attributed the construction of the two churches of San Diego (at Gyusiwá) and San Joseph or San José. This was about the year 1618; for in 1626 Fray Gerónimo returned to Mexico after eight years of mission work in New Mexico (during which he baptized 6,566 Jemez Indians alone and prepared a catechism in their language; see p. 200) and made a report, unfortunately relating mainly to earlier explorations but brought down to the year 1626. This report was written evidently in 1629, on August 18th of which year it received the endorsement of Padre Fray Francisco de Velasco, Lector Jubilado of the Franciscans in New Spain. It could not have been written earlier than 1627, since the *Relación* is addressed to Fray Francisco de Apodaca, who did not assume the commissary-generalship until that year (see note 9). When Benavides took the field as Custodian in 1622, Fray Martin de Arvide, the missionary at Picurís (who, it will be recalled, was killed while on his way to the gentile Zipias, February 27, 1632; see note 6), requested and was granted permission to resettle the Jemez people, who had practically abandoned their villages on account of famine and Navaho depredations. Fray Martin, therefore, is the missionary of whom Benavides speaks. He also mentions, it will be noted, that the Jemez had churches before this time, erected by "sundry religious." If any resident missionary other than Zárate Salmerón ministered to the Jemez before Arvide took charge, his name and the date are not known. Zárate Salmerón ministered also to other pueblos during his stay in New Mexico (see note 6), so that the remarkable labors which he conducted at Jemez must have been between about 1618 and 1622. The mission of San Joseph was abandoned after Benavides' time and before 1680, but in the meantime another mission, with a church dedicated to San Juan, was founded. The pueblos at which San Joseph and San Juan were established are not known with certainty; Bandelier leaves the question of the latter open to future investigation, and decides in favor of Amúshungkwa for San Joseph mainly because Zárate Salmerón mentions it in connection with Gyusiwá. But the Jemez Indians assured me emphatically that Amúshungkwa was not the seat of a mission, but that Astialakwá had been; and Bandelier was also informed by the natives that the latter pueblo was the site of San Joseph, which in 1892 he rejected in favor of Amúshungkwa (*Final Report*, pt. 2, pp. 205–206) and in 1894 in favor of Patokwá (*Century Cyclop.*, art. "Patoqua"). These two ruins are situated where the mesa between the cañons of San Diego and Guadalupe, six miles north of Jemez, narrows to a point — Astialakwá being on the mesa proper, Patokwá on the lower prominence. Until further attention has been given to Jemez archeology the sites of San Joseph and San Juan cannot be located beyond question, but it is not unlikely that it will be shown that they were where the ruins of Astialakwá and Patokwá, respectively, may still be seen. Of the identification of San Diego with Gyusiwá (plate xxv) there is no longer any doubt. Bandelier calls attention to Benavides' statement that as he founded the pueblo at San Diego anew, on account of its ruinous condition, "the old church of San Diego was built after 1622, and probably after 1626." It is not to be supposed, however, that Gyusiwá had no church during Zárate Salmerón's ministry. The same authority also says: "The words 'de la Congregacion' [applied by Benavides to San Diego] seem to indicate that the first mission at San Diego de Jemez was due to the Capuchins!" (*Final Report*, pt. 2, p. 205.) Between 1643 and 1646 the Jemez and the Navaho conspired against the Spaniards, which ended in the hanging of 29 of the Indians. In 1650 they again confederated with the Navaho, together with the Tigua of Isleta and Alameda, and the Queres of San Felipe and Cochití, but the attempted uprising was quelled. When the great revolt broke out on August 10, 1680, the Jemez killed Fray Juan de Jesús, one of their two missionaries, at Gyusiwá

(San Diego), the other, Fray Francisco Muñoz (who evidently was attached to the San Juan mission) escaping to Sia, where he was rescued. On the reappearance of Otermin, in 1681, the Jemez fled to the heights, but soon returned to their two pueblos; probably in 1688 they again abandoned their villages and went to the mesa, and in 1692 they were found by Vargas inhabiting an extensive fortified pueblo on a mesa summit, probably the former town of Astialakwá, rehabilitated for the purpose (see Loew in *U. S. Geog. Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, vol. VII, Archæology, Washington, 1879, p. 343). Vargas succeeded in pacifying the Indians, at least for a time. In 1693, on account of their adherence to the Spanish cause, the Jemez made war on the Queres of Sia, Santa Ana, and San Felipe, but a visit from Vargas was met by the Jemez with assurances of friendship. Repeated hostility toward the Queres by the Jemez with their Navaho allies, however, finally resulted in an expedition under Vargas against them in July, 1694, causing the signal defeat of the Indians, who lost 84 killed, 361 prisoners, and a large quantity of stores confiscated, while their two pueblos were burned. San Diego, however, was reoccupied in the same year, and continued to be inhabited until June 4, 1696, when, with other pueblos, the Jemez again arose in rebellion and killed their missionary, Fray Francisco de Jesús Maria Casañes. Another expedition was sent against them and their allies from the Navaho and from Zuñi and Acoma, on June 29, the Indians again being defeated in San Diego cañon, this time with a loss of about 30, including 8 Acomas. The frightened Zuñis and Acomas retreated to their homes, while the Jemez forever deserted their old pueblos of San Diego and San Juan and fled to the Navaho country where they remained for several years, some at least of the Jemez being with the Navaho when Roque de Madrid made an expedition against them in 1705. But their quondam friends soon became their old-time enemies again, for in June, 1709, Jemez (evidently the present pueblo, which meanwhile seems to have been built) was raided by these semi-nomads, suffering much. In 1714 the depredations were repeated, and ten years later the Yute, or Ute, took a hand in the same disastrous business. Yet these were not to be the only troubles of the unfortunate Jemez, for in 1728 pestilence carried off 108 of their already diminished tribe; and when in 1780–81, more than 5,000 Pueblos succumbed to an epidemic of smallpox, the Jemez suffered with the rest and many of the villages became so reduced in population that several of the active missions, including that of Jemez (which had retained the old name San Diego), became mere *visitas*. In this way Jemez was ministered by the missionary of Sia after 1782. The town contained 574 inhabitants in 1749, 485 in 1793, and 650 in 1860; in 1890, 428 remained, and in 1910 the population numbered 499. These of course include the score or more of descendants of the Pecos tribe, the remnant of which went to Jemez in 1838. Benavides' estimate of 3,000 for the two Jemez pueblos in 1630 was probably a reasonable one. For further information on the tribe see Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 2, pp. 200–217; Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, passim, with the numerous early authorities cited in both; C. W. Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XV, no. 2, 1911; E. L. Hewett, "Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau," *Bull. 32, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1906; W. H. Holmes, "Notes on the Antiquities of Jemez Valley, New Mexico," *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. 7, April-June, 1905. F. W. H.

33. Picuries. From *Pikuria*, the Queres name of the pueblo, now popularly spelled Picuris. The native (Tigua) name of the village is Pinuēltá. This is a pueblo of the northern division of the Tigua (Benavides' Tēoas) on a "river" of the same name, an eastern tributary of the Rio Grande, 18 miles southwest of Taos, in Taos county. Benavides intimates that Picurís lay ten leagues (say 27 miles) up the Rio Grande from the other Tigua (meaning those in the vicinity of Sandia and Puaray), whereas it is and always has been situated fully 70 miles distant up the river from the Bernalillo neighborhood and about 15 miles east of it. Although there is no definite mention that Picurís was visited by members of Coronado's army, it is asserted that Alvarado visited Taos in 1540, and Barrionuevo in 1541, consequently it is likely that Picurís also was seen by the latter at least. The village is mentioned by Castañeda, under the name Acha, as situated 40 leagues (106 miles) north or east of Tiguex — thus erring somewhat in the opposite direction to that of Benavides (see Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, pp. 511, 519). Picurís was first referred to under that name by Juan de Oñate, who visited the "Gran pueblo de los Picuríes" on July 13, 1598, and applied to it the name San Buenaventura in honor of the day (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. xvi, p. 257).

The mission of San Lorenzo was established at Picurís apparently by Fray Martin de Arvide, who went to New Mexico on taking his vows in 1612 (Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 75, repr. 1871), and who, as we have seen, later ministered to the Jemez. The other one of the "sundry religious" alluded to by Benavides was Fray Asēncio de Zárate, who died and was buried at Picurís in 1632 (see note 6). Fray Asēncio may have been one of Benavides' band of twenty-seven missionaries in 1622, taking Arvide's place at Picurís when the latter left to reëstablish Jemez. Which one of these religious the Lord rendered invisible when the Indians "entered to lay hands on him," is not recorded. From Oñate's statement and Benavides' estimate of a population of 2,000 for Picurís, it must have been of considerable importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Benavides' figure is evidently not overestimated, since Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 318) gave it 3,000 before the revolt of 1680, at which time it had a fine church. Its inhabitants took a prominent part in the revolt, one of the natives of the town being Luis Tupatú, who was a leading instigator of the plot and who was twice chosen as Popē's successor during the twelve years of Pueblo independence. They killed their missionary, Fray Matías de Rendon, on the fatal 10th of August, and joined the Taos and Tewa in the siege of Santa Fe. They readily submitted to Vargas on October 5, 1692, but again arose in rebellion with other Pueblos in 1694, Vargas finding Picurís abandoned when he visited it early in July of that year. Its inhabitants were reduced to submission again in the following year, but their hatred of the Spaniards continued, and on June 2, 1696, the Picurís, together with the other northern Pueblos, once more rebelled, killing five missionaries and twenty-one other Spaniards, and abandoning their villages. Fearing the destruction of their crops, the Picurís and the Tewa of San Juan feigned a desire for peace later on, but Vargas, learning of their duplicity, proceeded against them on October 26 and captured 84 women and children whom he distributed as servants among his soldiers. This proceeding appears to have resulted in a desire (this time unfeigned) for peace on the part of these Indians, and the succession of revolts, so far as they were concerned, came to an end. In 1704, probably on account of some superstition arising from their practice of witchcraft, the Picurís abandoned their village and fled to the plains, about 350 miles northeast of Santa Fe, where they established themselves at a place called El Cuartelejo, or Quartelejo. Here they remained until 1706 when they were induced to return by Sargento-Mayor Juan de Uribarri at the instance of Governor Francisco Cuerbo y Valdés. During these two years in a land totally different from that to which they had been accustomed, there is little doubt that the Picurís gained an infusion of Jicarilla Apache blood, and perhaps that of other Plains Indians. The location of El Cuartelejo has been determined beyond reasonable doubt by Professor S. W. Williston and Mr. H. T. Martin, of the University of Kansas, the latter of whom excavated the mounds that alone marked the site. These were found in northern Scott county, Kansas, 12 miles due north from Scott City and about 10 miles south of Smoky Hill river. A paper on the subject, by Professor Williston, was published in the *Kansas University Quarterly* for January, 1899, and a joint article by Professor Williston and Mr. Martin appears in the *Transactions* of the Kansas State Historical Society, vol. VIII, pp. 124–130, Topeka, 1900. Several quotations in the article from historical sources attribute Cuartelejo to the Taos Indians, which is quite true, but to these should be added the reference by Bandelier (*Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*, Amer. ser., V, pp. 181–183) to the effect that the Picurís also fled to the Cuartelejo at the date previously given. The Williston-Martin article is of great interest and noteworthy importance in the present connection. It is not illustrated, but from photographs kindly furnished by the authors it is readily seen that the remains are those of a pueblo built by New Mexican Indians who had adapted themselves to the local environment; and the only explanation of this intrusive structure in a country where only earth and grass lodges were customarily used by the aborigines, is that it was the Cuartelejo of New Mexico annals. The distance given in the documents accords with that shown by modern maps. In addition to the works cited above, see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim, with the numerous documents cited therein; Escalante, *Carta*, 1778, transl. in *Land of Sunshine*, vol. XII, pp. 247, 309, Los Angeles, 1900; Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercúrio Volante*, Mexico, 1693, reprint, Mexico, 1900. The Indian population of Picurís in 1749 was 322; in 1760, 328, since which time it has gradually diminished to 104 in 1910. F. W. H.

34. Garnets. Compare the reference to garnets at Picurís (in the present Taos county) by Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, quoted in note 21. See also *New Mexico: Official Publication of the Bureau of Immigration*, Santa Fe, 1894, p. 68: "In Santa Fe, in Bernalillo, Rio Arriba and San Juan counties a very superior quality of garnet is found. It is easily mistaken for the true ruby, is very hard and takes a magnificent polish." On the occurrence of garnets in New Mexico, Dr. Fayette Alexander Jones (*New Mexico Mines and Minerals*, Santa Fe, 1904, p. 267) says: "In the same locality [the Zuñi Indian reservation] and in Taos and Santa Fe counties are found many beautiful garnets; these gems occur in the gravels and are more or less associated with the peridot. A wide range in the variation of color is displayed in New Mexican garnets, that vary from a light rose to a bright red; this gem is frequently termed 'ruby-garnet'." F. W. H.

35. Taos. A corruption of *Tô-wí*, the Tewa name of the pueblo. The Taos name of their village is *Tŭatá*, also *Yā'hlâhaimub'âhŭtŭlba*, "Red willow

place"; that of the inhabitants *Taínamu*,or *Taínamu*, signifying "willow people." This is a Tigua village, as Benavides intimates, situated on the Rio de Taos, 55 miles northeast of Santa Fe, in Taos county. It is thus the northernmost Indian pueblo in New Mexico, and was so recognized by the earliest Spanish explorers. Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. I, p. 123) states that "no mention of Taos is found [in the Coronado narratives] as nobody visited it until 1598, when Oñate went there on the 14th of July." But the contrary would seem to be the case from the extracts which follow. Castañeda says: "There was a large and powerful river, I mean village, which was called Braba, 20 leagues farther up the river [Rio Grande], which our men called Valladolid. The river flowed through the middle of it. The natives crossed it by wooden bridges, made of very long, large, squared pines. At this village they saw the largest and finest hot rooms or estufas that there were in the entire country, for they had a dozen pillars, each one of which was twice as large around as one could reach and twice as tall as a man. Hernando de Alvarado visited this village when he discovered Cicuye. The country is very high and very cold [compare Benavides]. The river is deep and very swift without any ford. Captain Barrionuevo returned from here, leaving the province at peace." (Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, p. 511.) Also: "Valladolid is the farthest up the river toward the northeast" (p. 525). The *Relación del Suceso* (ibid., p. 575) says: "This river [Rio Grande] rises where these settlements end at the north, on the slope of the mountains there, where there is a larger village different from the others, called Yuraba. It is settled in this fashion: It has 18 divisions; each one has a situation as if for two ground plots; the houses are very close together, and have five or six stories, three of them with mud walls and two or three with thin wooden walls, which become smaller as they go up, and each one has its little balcony outside of the mud walls, one above the other, all around, of wood. In this village, as it is in the mountains, they do not raise cotton nor breed fowls [turkeys]; they wear the skins of deer and cows [bison] entirely. It is the most populous village of all that country; we estimate there were 15,000 souls in it." This population is greatly exaggerated. Jaramillo, one of Coronado's captains, corrects the statement of others that Taos (Yuraba, Uraba) was situated on the Rio Grande proper: "There are other villages besides these on other streams which flow into this [Rio Grande], and three of these are, for Indians, well worth seeing, especially one that is called Chia [Sia], and another Uraba, and another Cicuique [Pecos]." (Ibid., p. 587.) Although Taos does not occupy its sixteenth-century site, the conditions are the same now as then, since the little stream still separates the two house-clusters, as described by Castañeda. The ruins of the two house groups of early Spanish times lie a few hundred yards from the present so-called North and South towns, which, like the original settlements, are known respectively as 'Hlauúma and 'Hlaukwíma. Taos was first mentioned under its present name by Juan de Oñate, who visited it, after leaving Picurís on July 14, 1598, and referred to it as follows: "Esta dia, despues de missa, pasamos á la provincia de los Táos, que tambien llaman Tayberon, y otras; ay seis leguas por por [*sic*] ser mal camino; llamóse Sant Miguel; y por aquel rumbo qués Norte, quarta del Noruesté, no pasamos, adelante, más." (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. XVI, p. 257.) Thus within half a century the names Braba, Uraba, Yuraba, Valladolid, Táos, Sant Miguel, and Tayberon were applied to the settlement by the chroniclers of two expeditions. Fray Francisco de Zamora was assigned to minister to the Taos Indians, among others, but the mission of San Gerónimo was not founded until about 1617, its establishment being probably attributable to Fray Pedro de Miranda. Although Benavides states that two missionaries had been stationed there, they were not necessarily at Taos together, as Bancroft bebelieved (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 164). At any rate, Fray Pedro was no doubt the religious who figured so prominently in the miracle which Benavides naïvely describes; but he did not continue his missionary labors long after our author's departure from the province, as he was murdered by the natives, December 28, 1631, together with his guard of two soldiers, Luis Pacheco and Juan de Estrada. (See note 6.) As early as the middle of the seventeenth century the Taos Indians planned a revolt, outlining their plot on deerskins; but it failed because the Moqui (Hopi) declined to join them. It may have been on this account that about the same time many of the Taos fled to the Cuartelejo on the plains of Kansas, but they were later induced to return by Juan de Archuleta (Escalante, Letter of 1778, translated in *Land of Sunshine*, XII, p. 314). No pueblo took a more prominent part in the great revolt of 1680, for while Popé, the principal instigator of the conspiracy against the Spaniards, was a Tewa of San Juan, the seed of discontent which he sowed fell on fertile soil at Taos, where the rebellion was plotted and which was the home of Jaca, or Jhaka, one of the principal adherents to the Indian cause. At the time of the outbreak Taos had two resident missionaries, Fray Antonio de Mora and Fray Juan de Pedrosa, both of whom were murdered on August 10th, and the church burned. The warriors of the pueblo repaired to Santa Fe where they joined other northern Indians in the siege of the capital. During the period of independence, intertribal dissension arose, the Taos, Queres, and Pecos waging war against the Tano and Tewa. The Ute, finding that the Spaniards had left the country, attacked Taos and the Tewa villages with serious results. Vargas appeared among the northern settlements in September, 1692, when Tupatú (Popé's successor), who had lost all his followers save the Tewa, renewed allegiance. Vargas reached Taos early in October; the people fled, but were induced by Tupatú to return to their homes, when they also treated for peace. This, however, was not for long; insurrection still smoldered in the Indian ranks and by 1694 they were again in open rebellion. On his expedition to the north from Santa Fe in this year Vargas reached Taos on July 3, finding it deserted, its inhabitants having taken refuge in a cañon where they refused to negotiate for peace until the following year. As recorded in previous notes, the northern Indians again revolted in 1696, on June 4 of which year five missionaries were killed, including Fray Antonio Carboneli of Taos, who was visiting the new Tano pueblo of San Cristóbal at Cañada de Santa Cruz. (See note 28.) In September, Vargas found the Taos again in the cañon not far from their village. Here he attacked them, forcing a surrender on October 8th, when they returned to their homes. The series of revolts against Spanish authority were now at an end, but their old enemies, the Ute, and their new ones, the Comanche, displayed hostility from time to time, and Taos, being the most northerly pueblo and more exposed to attack from these tribes, probably suffered more than the rest. Especially was this the case in 1716 and 1760, in the latter year the Comanche killing many men and capturing fifty women. From its location Taos became a trading center for the Indians of the plains, and its importance as such, together with the fertility of the soil and abundance of water, early attracted colonists to the vicinity who established the town of Fernandez de Taos, three miles away. The history of this settlement, although of great interest, does not concern us here. In 1847 occurred what is known as the Taos rebellion. Instigated by Mexicans, whose ill feeling for the Americans had been aroused by the Mexican war, the Taos warriors, on January 17, attacked and cruelly killed Governor Charles Bent and other residents of Fernandez de Taos, and, joined by Mexicans, murdered all but one of nine Americans at Turley's mill, twelve miles above. News of the massacre reaching Santa Fe, troops were hastened to the place, which they reached February 3, after several skirmishes on the way. The Indians and Mexicans were fortified in the massive adobe church, which was cannonaded at close range and its walls attacked with axes until its occupants were forced to flee to the near-by pueblo and thence toward the mountains. During the fight 150 of the insurgents were killed, about a third of this number in their attempt to escape from the pueblo. Fifteen others were afterward executed, and one was shot in attempting to escape. The loss of the Americans was seven killed outright and forty-five wounded, some of the latter, including Captain Burgwin, fatally. Benavides, it has been seen, accredited Taos with a population of 2,500; in 1680, according to Vetancurt, it contained 2,000, "con algunos españoles." These estimates are sufficiently close to denote the importance of the place in early times. In 1749 the population had dwindled to 341 Indians and 125 Spaniards; in 1760 the number of inhabitants was 505; in 1788, 578; the population declined from 527 in 1809 to 361 in 1850, largely on account of the fatalities resulting from the Taos rebellion of 1847. The population in 1910 was given as 517. F. W. H.

36. Acoma. From the native name *Akóme*, signifying "People of the White Rock," now popularly pronounced *A'-ko-ma*. The aboriginal name of the pueblo is *Áko*. This village of the western branch of the Queres, or Keresan, stock is situated on a rock mesa or *peñol*, 357 feet in height, about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande, in Valencia county. Benavides states, as loosely as usual (note 26), that Acoma lay 12 leagues "to the west" from Santa Ana, the "last pueblo" of the Queres. The true direction was and is southwest, while the distance from Santa Ana (which was not the "last pueblo" of the Rio Grande Queres in that direction, by the way, since Sia had that distinction) to Acoma is 65 miles (24.5 leagues) in an air line, or twice the distance that Benavides gives. Acoma is mentioned as early as 1539 by Fray Marcos de Niza, under the name "Acus," a corruption of its Zuñi name Hákukia, not Hákukwe, as frequently misstated, this being the Zuñi name of the Acoma people. (See "Relation de Frère Marcos de Niza" in Ternaux-Compans, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 271, and cf. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, August 3, 1540, in Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, p. 560.) Fray Marcos did not visit Acoma, which was seen for the first time in 1540 by the members of Coronado's army, the main body of which reached it, according to the narratives, in forty leagues' travel eastward from Zuñi or Cibola. The village was described, under the name Acuco, as situated on the *peñol*, just as it is at the present time, since Acoma and Isleta are the only two pueblos which now occupy their sixteenth-century sites. The strength of its position was em-

phasized by the early chroniclers, who estimated its houses at 200 and its warriors at the same number. "There was a broad stairway for about 200 steps," says Castañeda, "then a stretch of about 100 narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means of holes in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. [See pl. XXIX–XXXI.] There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn, and cisterns to collect snow and water. [These cisterns are still in use.] . . . They made a present of a large number of [turkey-] cocks with very big wattles, much bread, tanned deerskins, pine [piñon], nuts, flour [corn-meal], and corn." (Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, p. 491; see also pp. 560, 569, 575.) Antonio de Espejo also visited Acoma, in 1583, designating it by the name under which it is now known, attributing to it the greatly exaggerated population of more than 6,000, and mentioning its dizzy trail cut in the rock, and its cultivated fields two leagues away—probably those still tilled and irrigated at the two farming villages of Acomita (Tichuna) and Pueblito (Titsia?). Oñate visited Acoma in 1598, as he did all the other aboriginal villages of New Mexico, and during his early governorship Fray Andrés Corchado was assigned to minister to Acoma (called *Yacco*, ="y Acco"), as well as to Zuñi, Moqui [the Hopi], Santa Ana, the province of the "Trias" (Tsia or Sia), and others. No mission churches were erected at this time, as has repeatedly been said above; indeed the various missionaries with Oñate's colony could not possibly have covered the immense field to which each was assigned.

The Acoma had always been dreaded by their neighbors, indeed as early as 1540 they were mentioned as "feared by the whole country round about." When Oñate visited their height on October 27, 1598, to receive their vows of allegiance to the Spanish Crown, a plot was formed to murder him by strategy, but it was averted through the counsel of wiser leaders. Oñate proceeded to Zuñi, the Hopi villages, and the unknown region westward, while Juan de Zaldivar set out from the Rio Grande in November, in obedience to orders from Oñate, to join the latter with thirty men. Reaching Acoma, Zaldivar was received by the natives with every appearance of friendship, but at a signal the Indians fell on the unsuspecting Spaniards at daybreak of December 4th, killing fourteen of their number outright, including Captains Zaldivar, Nuñez, and Escalante, and causing five to leap in desperation over the cliff, only one of whom, strange to say, met death. The avenging party consisted of seventy men under Juan de Zaldivar's brother Vicente, who reached Acoma January 21, 1599. Their demand that the jubilant hostiles capitulate was met only with jeers. On the following morning the battle was commenced by the Indians with a shower of arrows, but during the night a dozen Spaniards had secreted themselves in the cliffs and now gained a part of the summit where they were shortly reinforced. The battle raged for nearly three days, with dreadful loss to the Indians, but with little effect on the well-armed and armored Spaniards. On the third day the town was fired and many of the Indians perished either in the flames or by throwing themselves in their frenzy over the cliff to escape capture. Of an estimated population by Oñate of 3,000, only 600 are said to have survived the siege, but as Benavides estimated 2,000 inhabitants for Acoma thirty years later, and as Vetancurt placed the population at 1,500 for about the year 1680, the mortality, large though it must have been, was probably not so great as stated. (See note 39). It has been noted that although Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón performed some missionary work at Acoma before 1629 (note 6), its first permanent religious was Fray Juan Ramirez, who went to New Mexico with Perea in 1629 (note 8), and remained there many years. This is the zealous priest to whom Benavides alludes. The church erected by Fray Juan was dedicated to San Estevan and was the one which stood just to the north of the present remarkable edifice, but no trace of it now remains if we bar some carved beams which form part of one of the houses of the old north tier. The Acoma participated in the general Pueblo uprising of August 10, 1680, killing their missionary, Fray Lúcas Maldonado; but largely on account of their isolation and the inaccessibility of their village site, they were not so severely dealt with by the Spaniards during the succeeding few years as were some of the more easterly Pueblos. The revolt of June 4, 1696, has been alluded to in previous notes. In this the Acoma aided the upper Rio Grande villagers by affording them asylum and otherwise encouraging the more active rebels, particularly those of Jemez (note 32). Vargas made a tour of the west in August, reaching and attacking Acoma on the 15th, capturing five natives (of whom four were shot), but failing to reach the summit of the *peñol*. He withdrew after destroying their cornfields, the Acoma remaining unconquered. Toward the close of 1697 a new village was established on the Rio Cubero (now Rio San José), 17 miles northeast of Acoma, by rebel Queres from Santo Domingo, Cochití, Sia, evidently Acoma, and probably other Queres towns, although there is some evidence that the rebels had gathered at this spot and had built a village as early as 1689. It was visited by Governor Pedro Rodriguez Cubero on July 4, 1699, when the natives of the new settlement declared their allegiance and the town was named San José de la Laguna, from the lagoon which formerly existed west of the pueblo, and by this name it has ever since been known. (I desire to record here a strong suspicion that the nucleus of the Laguna population consisted of Queres who had fled to the Hopi country (Tusayan) during the great revolt or earlier. This is based on the fact that Kawaika, the native name of Laguna, is identical with that of a village, now in ruins, not far from Awatobi, a former pueblo of the Hopi in northeastern Arizona. Investigation has not yet reached a stage that will warrant the identification of the ruins of Kawaika as those of a Queres village, nor does the town appear to have been mentioned in history. The identity of the names, however, appears to be more than a coincidence, as further study of the Hopi and Queres will probably show. For accounts of Kawaika see Mooney in *American Anthropologist*, July, 1893; Fewkes in *17th Rep. Bureau Amer. Ethnology*, pt. 2, 1898; Hough in *Rep. U. S. National Museum for 1901*, pp. 339–346.) On July 6th Cubero visited the Acoma, who also submitted; the name of their mission was changed to San Pedro, but the original designation of San Estevan was afterward restored. The present church at Acoma, with its massive walls and remarkable cemetery (pl. xxxi), probably dates from about this time. The bell in the northeastern tower bears the inscription "San Pedro 1710." As previously stated, Acoma was credited with 1,500 people at the time of the great revolt; in 1760 it had 1,052, but in 1780–81 a smallpox epidemic reduced the population to such an extent that in the year following it was made a *visita* of Laguna, and ten years later its inhabitants numbered only 820. Their number has declined from 816 in 1809 to 691 in 1910. The population of Laguna in 1749 was 401; in 1793, 668; in 1809, 1,022; in 1910, 1,441, including its outlying farming villages. Like the Pueblo Indians generally, those of Acoma preserve traditions of their early migration after leaving Shipapu, their mythical place of origin in the unknown north. Their first traditional settlement was Kashkáchutī, the next Washpáshūka; and still moving southward they inhabited successively Kuchtyá, Tsíama ("The Gateway," in Cañada de Cruz, west of the present town of Cubero), Tapītsíama (on a mesa northeast of the present Acoma), then Kātzímo, the Mesa Encantada, three miles northeast of their present village. This site was occupied, still in prehistoric times, until a part of the only trail which made the height of 430 feet accessible, was washed away in a storm while most of the inhabitants were at their farms. The Acoma were thus forced to abandon their lofty pueblo and the few old men and women who remained in it. The present Acoma was next built,—before the Spaniards came,—and as it has been continuously inhabited (with the possible exception of a very brief period after Vicente de Zaldivar defeated the natives in 1599), it is the oldest occupied settlement in the United States. The mesa of Kātzímo was scaled in the autumn of 1897 and evidence of its former occupancy obtained, thus substantiating the Acoma tradition. Other pueblos were occupied by Acoma clans at various early periods, among them Heáshkôa, two miles southeast of Acoma, which was built by the Red-corn clan; and Kôwina, built by the Calabash clan on a mesa at the head of Cebollita valley, about 15 miles west of Acoma. For further details regarding the early history of Acoma, see the works herein cited, also Espejo in *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xv, pp. 100, 151; Oñate, ibid., xvi; Villagran, *Hist. de la Nueva Mexico*, Alcala, 1610 (regarding Oñate's expedition and the Zaldivar affair); Vetancurt, *Menologio* and *Crónica* (concerning Lúcas Maldonado); Bandelier, Historical Introd., *Arch. Inst. Papers*, Amer. ser., i, pp. 13–14; Contributions, ibid., pt. 5, p. 173; *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 132, pt. 2, p. 312 et seq.; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, passim (valuable material on the revolt from original sources); Lummis, *Land of Poco Tiempo* (chap. 3, "The City in the Sky"), and *Spanish Pioneers;* Hodge, "Katzimo the Enchanted," in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, November, 1897, and "Ascent of the Enchanted Mesa," *Century Magazine*, May, 1898. F. W. H.

37. Zuñi. This, of course, was the group of Zuñi villages, on Zuñi river, a tributary of the Colorado Chiquito, in the present McKinley and Valencia counties, 10 miles east of the Arizona boundary. From a historical point of view the present pueblo of Zuñi is one of the most interesting in New Mexico, since it is the survivor of one of the Seven Cities of Cibola discovered by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, and conquered by Francisco Vasquez Coronado in the year following. From the Spanish chroniclers of the sixteenth century considerable data of ethnologic and historical importance have been derived, and their descriptions are amply definite to leave no doubt of the identification of the so-called Seven Cities of Cibola with the pueblos inhabited by the Zuñi Indians at that time. These are now survived by the single village of Zuñi (so called from its Queres name), or, as it is known by the Zuñi, *Shiwinakwin*, signifying

"Place of the Flesh," i.e., the Village of the Flesh of the Earth, as the Zuñi proudly designate themselves. It is not necessary here to trace the route of the remarkable expedition of Coronado from Culiacan, in western Mexico, to Cibola, nor to review the overwhelming testimony showing that Cibola and the Zuñi villages were one and the same, for this has already been carefully and elaborately done by students of the subject familiar both with the Spanish records and with the localities concerned (see Simpson, *Coronado's March*, in Smithsonian Report for 1869, pp. 309–340; Bandelier, *Historical Introduction*, 1881; *Contributions*, 1890; *Final Report*, pt. 1, 1890, and pt. 2, 1892; *Gilded Man*, pp. 125–193; and especially his *Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe*, Jour. Amer. Ethn. and Arch., III, 1892; Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, 1896; Hodge, *Coronado's March to Quivira*, St. Paul, 1899). All the Coronado narratives, with the exception of that of Jaramillo, assert that the Province of Cibola consisted of seven villages. Jaramillo states that there were five, but in this his testimony is greatly outweighed by the others. The native name of only one of these towns is recorded by the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition—that of Matsaki, which Castañeda calls Maçaque—although Coronado gave the name Granada to Hawikuh, which was the first village seen by him (on July 17, 1540) in coming from the southwest. This was the only one of the Zuñi villages seen by Niza in 1539, and it was the scene of the murder of the negro Estevanico just before Niza caught a glimpse of it from an adjacent height (Relation de Frère Marcos de Niza, in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, IX, pp. 256–284; Hodge, First Discovered City of Cibola, *Am. Anthropologist*, VIII, April, 1895, and references therein cited. Compare also Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513–1561*, p. 281, N. Y., 1901). The numerous allusions to the condition of the Zuñi in the sixteenth century are so readily accessible in the works herein cited, as well as in many of the printed records and narratives on which they are largely based, that it is not necessary to repeat them here. The next Spanish explorer to visit the Zuñi was Francisco de Chamuscado, who started from the Tigua pueblo of Puaray, on the Rio Grande, in the summer of 1580, finding the Zuñi in six villages in the valley of "Camí" (an obvious misprint of Cuni or Cumi; see *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XV, p. 86, and cf. XVI, 203–206: "Cabri," and "Zuni ó Sumi"). Antonio de Espejo next visited the province in the early part of the year 1583, stating that "they call it Amé [or Amí], and by another name Cibola." (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XV, 117, 120, 180.) Here Espejo found crosses that had been erected near the pueblos, and three Mexican Indians whom Coronado had left there forty-one years previously—positive proof of the identity of Cibola and Zuñi. The only Zuñi village which Espejo mentions by name is "Aquico" (Hawikuh). While Espejo journeyed from Cibola, or Zuñi, to Tusayan (the Hopi pueblos) and the west, a trip occupying many weeks, he left most of his force, including Padre Fray Bernardino Beltran, at Hawikuh, and it may be assumed that during this period steps were taken by the padre to prepare the Zuñi for the more serious missionary efforts which followed a generation later. Oñate visited Zuñi early in November, 1598, on the 9th of which month the Zuñi made their vows of obedience and vassalage (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, 132–136). Fray Andrés Corchado and Fray Juan Claros were assigned to the great mission district which included Zuñi, but as has hitherto been asserted, no churches or monasteries were erected at this time, and it is indeed doubtful if the two religious mentioned ever visited the western pueblos included in their mission field. As in the time of Chamuscado and Espejo, the Zuñi occupied six villages near the close of the sixteenth century. These are recorded by Oñate as follows: 1, Aguicobi or Aguscobi (Espejo's Aquico); 2, Canabi; 3, Coaqueria; 4, Halonagu; 5, Macaqui (Castañeda's Maçaque); 6, Aquinsa. It has thus been seen that one of the Seven Cities had been abandoned between 1542 and 1581, or between Coronado's departure and Chamuscado's visit; but the name of it is not positively known even to tradition. Bandelier and Cushing agreed on Halona, Hawikuh, K'iakima, Matsaki, and K'iánawe as having been five of the seven, but no satisfactory conclusion was reached by either concerning the identification of Oñate's "Aquinsa" or of the remaining seventh pueblo. Bandelier rather inclined to Apinawa or Pinawa for the former, probably on account of a distant resemblance in the names, and gave Kwakina ("Quakyina," "Kya-kuina") as the alternative; and for the remaining village favoring Kechipauan, with Kwakina again as second choice. Cushing, on the other hand, gave Kechina with a query, Kwakina, and "A'-pina or Pí-na-wan" as probable equivalents of Oñate's Aquinsa, and Hampassawan as the seventh town. But Cushing's Kechina is the same as Bandelier's Kechipauan, and the location of the former's K'iánawe is identical with his own Kechina and Bandelier's Ketchipauan, thus involving the matter in great confusion (see Bandelier in *Archæological Inst. Papers*, Am. ser., III, 133; IV, pp. 336–339; V, p. 171; *Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, p. 84; Cushing in *The Millstone*, Indianapolis, April 1884, p. 55; and in *Compte-Rendu Int. Cong. Américanistes*, 7^{me} sess., 1888, Berlin, 1890, p. 156). I therefore believe that all the lists should be revised, as follows: 1, Hawikuh; 2, Kechipauan or K'iánawe; 3, K'iakima; 4, Matsaki; 5, Halona; 6, Apinawa or Pinawa (?); 7, Hampassawan (?). These are comparable with Oñate's pueblos as follows: 1, Aguscobi or Aguicobi; 2, Canabi; 3, Coaqueria; 4, Macaqui; 5, Halonagu; 6, Aquinsa; 7 (abandoned between 1540 and 1580).

The six Zuñi pueblos were inhabited at least as late as 1604, when Oñate again visited them on his way to the Gulf of California (Zárate Salmerón, *Relación*, 44). At this time Hawikuh ("Havico") was the principal village, containing 110 houses, although Coronado attributed to it more than 200 houses or 500 families in 1540, at which time Matsaki was the largest village of the seven. So far as the historical record is concerned, this brings us to the time of Benavides, when Hawikuh (called Zibola by his successor, Perea, in 1629) was the principal village of the tribe. But this people could not have occupied "eleven or twelve pueblos in a stretch," as recorded by Benavides, at this period, even if outlying summer villages (if any then existed) had been included, for the previous record of six pueblos seems to be too clear to warrant the assertion by Benavides, who doubtless did not personally visit the Zuñi country (see note 39). The tendency at this time was to consolidate the villages in order to facilitate the work of the missionaries and to afford surer protection from the Apache and Navaho, whose depredations on the Pueblos had begun to make themselves felt in the seventeenth century. That the policy of concentration was already in effect has been seen, and indeed by 1680 the Zuñi group consisted only of Halona, with its church dedicated to the Purificacion de la Vírgen and with its two *aldeas de visita*, Matsaki ("Mazaquia") and K'iakima ("Caquima"), each of which had its chapel. These pueblos contained 1,500 inhabitants. In addition there was said to be La Concepción de Aguico (Hawikuh), "con otros pueblos pequeños donde habia más de mil personas," so that the entire Zuñi population at the time of the rebellion was only about 2,500 (Vetancurt, *Crónica*, 320–321). In Benavides' period—half a century before—the Zuñi probably numbered not more than 3,000.

The first missionaries actually established among the Zuñi were Fray Roque de Figueredo, Fray Agustin de Cuellar, and Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios (see notes 6, 8). These were members of Perea's band of 1629, who started westward for their mission on June 23d. Fray Roque, at least, located at Hawikuh, where a house was bought for the lodging of the religious, and this became the first "church" of the province of Zuñi; but from Benavides' statement we are led to believe that there were two churches and monasteries among the Zuñi before our Custodian departed from New Mexico. Of these doubtless the adobe church at Hawikuh (the remains of which now consist of little more than an earthen mound) was one; the other was probably either at Halona or at Kechipauan, the stone walls of which latter still stand several feet in height. I may here say that I was present during the excavations conducted by the late Frank Hamilton Cushing for the Hemenway Expedition at Halona in 1888, and as special efforts were made at the instance of Bandelier to discover the remains of the chapel, without success, it was assumed that the church site was on the opposite side of the Zuñi river, where the present Zuñi pueblo stands, Halona having extended to both banks of the stream.

The first baptisms were conducted on San Agustin's day, 1629 (i.e., evidently August 28, the day of St. Augustine of Hippo). It is not known what became of these pioneer missionaries, as they disappear from Zuñi history before 1632, when Fray Francisco de Letrado, who also was a member of Perea's band and who had been Christianizing the Jumano, was assigned to the Zuñi province. Regarding his fate, see note 8. After murdering Fray Francisco, the Zuñi fled to the summit of Thunder mountain (*Taaiyalone*, lit. "corn or seed mountain"), four miles southeast of modern Zuñi, which had been a refuge for the tribe in earlier time — notably when Coronado forced them to abandon Hawikuh in 1540. Here the Zuñi remained until about 1635, when they began to settle on the plain again; but no missionaries were reëstablished among them until after 1642. The history of the Zuñi during the next thirty years is vague. In 1670 there were two priests among them, one Fray Juan de Galdo, at Halona, and the other, Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala, at Hawikuh. On October 7th of the year named the Apache, or their cousins, the Navaho, raided the latter pueblo, beat out the brains of Fray Pedro with a bell while he was clinging to a cross, and burned the church. His remains were recovered by Fray Juan and taken to Halona, where they were interred. The mission of La Concepción de Hawikuh was henceforth abandoned, but while the pueblo itself probably continued to be inhabited for a few years longer, it was certainly not occupied after 1680. The Zuñi participated in the revolt of 1680–92, killing their missionary at Halona, Fray Juan de Bal, on August 10th. At this time they occupied, in addition to Halona (which was the seat of the mission of La Purificacion de la Vírgen), Matsaki, and K'iakima, the latter two being mere *visitas* of Halona. According to Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 321) La Concepción de Hawikuh ("Aguico") was also an active mission at this time, with a resident priest who escaped the massacre, although the church was burned. This seems to be an error, as it has been seen that the church was destroyed a decade previously when Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala was killed. However, there is traditional testimony of the Indians that a missionary of Zuñi abjured his faith to save his life and was taken to their fortified village on Thunder mountain (Taaiyalone—"Corn mountain") where he was found by the Spaniards on November 11, 1692, when the Zuñi declared their allegiance. On these points see Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 79, note; Sigüenza y Góngora, *Mercúrio Volante*, 1693, repr. Mexico, 1900, p. 17; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 182, note. I was informed by the late Mr. Cushing that the Zuñi have a definite tradition of the affair which coincides quite closely with that given by General Davis, here cited, but what would appear to give most color to the story is the statement that an altar with burning candles, and the sacred vessels, were found in a room by Vargas when the defensive village on Thunder mountain capitulated (Document cited by Bancroft, op. cit, pp. 201, 202). In substantiation of this is the almost utter impossibility of a Spanish priest escaping, as the only Spanish settlement at this period was Santa Fe, hundreds of miles away, which was then in complete possession of the insurrectionists. In the revolt of 1696 the Zuñi aided the Rio Grande rebels, but they were reduced to submission by Governor Pedro Rodriguez Cubero on July 12, 1699. It was probably shortly after this time that the present pueblo of Zuñi was built on the northern part of the site of ancient Halona—i.e., on the north bank of the Rio Zuñi. It was first called La Purísima, but its mission name was later changed to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, which has been retained to this day, although there has been no resident Catholic missionary and no habitable church there for many years. In addition to Zuñi, the tribe has also three summer or farming villages, which are occupied by nearly all the natives during a part of the year. These are Heshotatsinakwin ("Pictograph place"), Tawyakwin ("Corn or Seed place"), and K'iapkwainakwin ("Hot Springs place")—commonly known as Pescado, Nutria, and Ojo Caliente, respectively. The population of Zuñi recorded at various dates was: 1,617 in 1788, 1,935 in 1790–93, 2,716 in 1797–98, 1,470 in 1805, 1,530 in 1871, and 1,613 in 1890. The population in 1910 was 1,664. The tribe suffered greatly from epidemics of smallpox (especially in 1853 and in 1898–99), and in former years from Navaho depredations. The Zuñi reservation (including a Spanish grant of 17,581.25 acres) comprises 215,040 acres. F. W. H.

38. Moqui Nation. A body of Indians occupying a group of pueblos in northeastern Arizona. They call themselves *Hópituh*, or *Hópituh Shínumo*, "Peaceful people," "Moqui" being an opprobrious epithet of indefinite signification and of alien origin either from the Queres tongue (*Mósichĭ* in Laguna, *Mo-ts* in Acoma, *Mótsĭ* in Sia, Cochití, and San Felipe, etc., whence Espejo's "Mohace" and "Mohoce" and Oñate's "Mohoqui"), or from that of the Zuñi (*Áhmukwe*). The definition of "Moqui" has been variously given to be "smallpox people," "dead people," "stinking people," and "excrement people," but none of these seems to be accurate, and it may be said that thus far the true meaning of the term has not been determined. It has been concluded by Bandelier and Cushing that the Province of Totonteac, mentioned by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, was identical with the province of Tusayan, or the Hopi country, which was first visited by white men in the summer of 1540 when Francisco Vasquez

Coronado dispatched Pedro de Tobar, with Fray Juan de Padilla and a few horsemen and foot soldiers, from Cibola (Zuñi) to investigate the group of pueblos toward the west or northwest. The little party remained in Tusayan (Tuçan, Tucano, Tucayan, Tuzan) several days, meanwhile learning from the Indians of the existence of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado beyond, and returned to Cibola within 30 days. The distance from Cibola to Tusayan, as given by Coronado's chroniclers, varies from 20 to 35 leagues. The actual distance from Hawikuh (Coronado's Granada, Perea's Zibola; see note 37) to Awatobi, the first Tusayan or Hopi (Moqui) village in the sixteenth century, is approximately 150 miles, so that all the estimates given are below the actual distance. It is not to be assumed, however, that the Tusayan of Coronado's time is not identical with the tribal habitat of the present Hopi Indians; as has repeatedly been asserted, and as the above range from 20 to 35 leagues will further indicate, but little reliance can be placed on the distances given by the early explorers. None of the names of the seven Hopi villages of Tusayan is recorded by Coronado's people, so that it is not positively known which seven pueblos were inhabited by the tribe at this early period. Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado visited Zuñi in 1581, as we have seen, but he did not continue his journey to Tusayan (Asay or Osay, as he calls it), on account of the snow.

At this point let us say a word about the name Tusayan, several attempts at determining the etymology of which have been made. Now, Coronado and his followers, who first employ the name, learned it from the Zuñi of Cibola, and Chamuscado heard of his Asay or Osay (T-osay-an?) from the same source. I have already shown ("The Early Navajo and Apache," *American Anthropologist*, Washington, July, 1895), and my proofs have since been materially strengthened, that the Navaho were unknown to the Spaniards before Oñate's time (1598), although they repeatedly crossed what later became Navaho territory, so that, coupled with the evidence that the Spaniards learned of Tusayan from the Zuñi, the resemblance between the Navaho *Tasaun* or *Zilh Tasaun*, "the country of isolated buttes," and *Tusayan* would seem to be fortuitous rather than otherwise. Whether or not the name had its origin in *Asa* (compare Asay, above), the important Tansy Mustard clan of the Hopi (which came from the Rio Grande valley and left part of their people at Zuñi where they became known as the Aiaho clan of that pueblo), I do not assert, but the suggestion is offered for what it may be worth.

The next Spanish explorer to visit the Hopi people was the indomitable Antonio de Espejo, with whom we have grown more or less familiar. Espejo's direction from Zuñi, like that of some of Coronado's narrators, was "westward," and the distance 28 leagues, which occupied four days. The Mohoce or Mohace of this explorer consisted of five large villages, the population of one of which, Aguato (Ahuato, Zaguato, Awatobi, "High Place of the Bow Clan"), he estimated at 50,000, which was about two ciphers too many. The names of the other four "Mohace" towns are not given. The Indians had evidently forgotten the horses of Tobar and Cárdenas of forty years before, since they now became frightened at them, building a stone corral, at the instance of the Spaniards, in order that the ferocious beasts might be kept in check! The Hopi presented Espejo with quantities of native cotton kilts, for which they were celebrated then as now.

Espejo was followed by Juan de Oñate, who left the Rio Grande on October 23, 1598, and proceeded by way of Zuñi to the Provincia de Mohoqui, whose inhabitants submitted to the acts of obedience and vassalage on November 15. Their spiritual welfare was assigned to Fray Juan de Claros, this being the first formal attempt to gather the Hopi to the Christian fold, although nothing in the way of sending active missionaries to Tusayan was accomplished for nearly a generation later. It would appear from Oñate's itinerary (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, 274–275) that there were only four "Mohoqui" pueblos at this time, and little aid is given by the *Obediencia y vasallaje á Su Magestad por los indios de la Provincia de Mohoqui*, of November 15, 1598 (ibid., p. 137), since the names of the villages are confounded with those of the chiefs, as follows: "Panaumá, Hoynigua, Xuynuxá, Patiguá, Aguatuybá; capitanes de los Pueblos de esta Provincia que son y se llaman Naybí, Xumupamí, Cuanrabí, Esperiez." The identification of Aguatuybá (Awatobi), and Xumupamí (Shongopovi) is certain, but whether Naybí and Cuanrabí are intended for Walpi and Oraibi, which certainly existed at this time, is doubtful. Fortunately, in a *testimónio* forming part of the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo México y sus acontecimientos—Años desde 1595 á 1602" (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, xvi, 207), which was made in the interest of Oñate, and which, although apparently pertaining to Chamuscado's discoveries more likely relates to the entrada of Espejo, the following Hopi pueblos are mentioned: Aguato (Awatobi), Gaspe (Gualpe, Walpi), Comupavi (Shongopovi), Majananí (Mishongnovi), and Olalla (Oraibi), thus accounting for all the pueblos occupied by the Hopi at the close of the sixteenth century and indeed for many years later.

We now reach the period of Benavides, during which Tusayan, so far as is known, remained as in Espejo's time, for no effort to establish missions among the Hopi was made until Estevan de Perea assumed the custodianship of the province. It is learned from his *Segundo Relación* that the journey to found the missions in the new field to the west was made from Santa Fe, beginning June 23, 1629; the party reached Acoma (36 leagues) and Zuñi (56 leagues), at which pueblos the missionaries assigned to them were left (see notes 8, 36, 37), the remainder, consisting of Fray Francisco de Porras, Fray Andrés Gutierrez, Fray Cristóval de la Concepción, and Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (the latter is not mentioned by Perea as having been a member of the Moqui party, but see note 8, under *Porras*, from Vetancurt), "with their crucifixes at the neck and staffs in their hands," accompanied by twelve soldiers, continuing to the Hopi or Moqui country (80–56 = 24 leagues from Zuñi), where they arrived on St. Bernard's day (August 20). In honor of the occasion the name of the saint was applied to Awatobi, the first village reached, which name it retained throughout its mission history of half a century. In which of the other four Hopi pueblos missions were established at this time is not positively known. Concerning the fate of Porras and the possible pueblos at which his companions were assigned, see note 8, under *Porras*. The missions of the Hopi country in 1680 (the name "Tusayan" had meanwhile fallen into disuse), as recorded by Vetancurt (*Crónica*, pp. 321–322, 1871), were as follows: *San Bernardino de Ahuatobi*, 26 leagues from Zuñi, population 800, Fray José de Figueras (Figueroa), alias de la Concepción, native of Mexico, killed in the rebellion. *San Bartolomé de Xongopabi* (Shongopovi), 7 leagues beyond [at Middle Mesa], with Moxainabe (Mishongnovi) as a *visita*; large church, population 500; José Trujillo, native of Cadiz, killed in the rebellion. *San Francisco de Oraybe* (Oraibi), toward the west; last monastery of Moqui; 14,000(!) gentiles before their conversion, but they were consumed by pestilence; "tenia en él una aldea llamada Gualpimas, de mil y doscientos personas," which means that Gualpi (Walpi) was its *visita* with a population of more (*mas*) than 1,200 souls; P. F. José de Espeleta and P. F. Agustin de Santa Maria were the missionaries murdered; the church was reduced to ashes. It has thus been seen that the Hopi were active participants in the great revolt, not one of their missionaries escaping, so far as is known. Awatobi met its ultimate fate late in 1700, when, owing to the attitude of its people toward the other Hopi and to the fact that they had been negotiating with the Spaniards for missionaries, the natives of the other pueblos fell upon them before daybreak, killed many of the inhabitants, and distributed the survivors (mostly women and children) among the other pueblos, Mishongnovi receiving most of them. (For an account of the native tradition and its verification by archeological excavations, see Fewkes in *17th Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology*. pt. 2, p. 592 et seq., 1898.) Awatobi was henceforth abandoned, but the walls of the mission church of San Bernardo, or San Bernardino, as it has sometimes been called, are still standing to a height of several feet on Antelope or Jeditoh mesa. The pueblos of Walpi, Mishongnovi, Shongopovi, and Oraibi do not occupy their sixteenth and seventeenth century sites at the base of the mesas, but, following the revolt, doubtless in fear of Spanish vengeance, built new towns on the summits, where they still stand. It has been stated in previous notes that many Indians fled from the Rio Grande to the Hopi during the revolt. Some of these built the town of Payupki on the Middle Mesa, but were brought back and settled at Sandia in 1748 (see note 23). About the year 1700 the pueblo of Hano was established on the East Mesa by Tewa from the Rio Grande, on the invitation of the Walpi people. Here they have lived uninterruptedly since, and although intermarried considerably with the Hopi, they retain their native tongue and many of their distinctive tribal rites and customs. Two of the pueblos, Sichumovi on the East Mesa, and Shipaulovi on the Middle Mesa, are of comparatively modern origin, having been established about the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus the Hopi pueblos, or the Province of Tusayan, today consist of: Walpi, Sichumovi, and Hano (frequently but improperly called Tewa, the name of the people), on the East Mesa; Mishongnovi, Shupaulovi, and Shongopovi, on the Middle Mesa; and Oraibi on the West or Oraibi Mesa. Within the last decade a small pueblo known as Hotavila has sprung up west of Oraibi, having been built by the conservative element of the Hopi of Oraibi who refused to send their children to the Government school. Also may be included in the Hopi pueblo group the summer settlement of Moenkapi, northwest of Oraibi. This village was probably that mentioned in 1604 by Oñate under the name Rancho de los Gândules (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, p. 276), while Fr. Francisco Garcés (see Elliott Coues' translation of his *Dairy*, N. Y., 1900) referred to it in 1776 as Muqui concabe and Munqui concabe. The total Hopi population (including the Tewa of Hano) in 1910 was 1,941. F. W. H.

39. So high an authority as Bandelier thus characterizes Benavides' population figures: "In 1630, Benavides gives an approximate enumeration

of the Pueblos, and he figures their numbers at 70,000 about. Acoma appears in that list with 2,000. (*Memorial*, p. 32.) We know what to think of such an estimate; it is twice as much as the rock will hold conveniently. There are other equally glaring inaccuracies. On page 26, the Tehuas are credited with eight villages, whereas they had only seven. On page 33, the Zuñi pueblos are set down at 'eleven or twelve,' whereas there were only half that number. The population of Taos, given at 2,000, is also vastly exaggerated. In short, the *Memorial* is, in many respects, a 'campaign document.' Its purpose was to induce the King to favor the missions, to create a better impression of the missionaries than the Spanish government had at that time, after their constant quarrels with the Governors of New Mexico, and to obtain the establishment of a bishopric at Santa Fé. The latter fact is very plainly established in the *Real Cédula* of May 19, 1631, MS., in which the King, among other matters touching the proposed establishment of an episcopal see, says: 'Fray Franc^{o} de Sosa Comissario de Corte y Secret^{o} General del orden de San Francisco se me ha hecho relacion, . . . y estan oy convertidos mas de quinientos mill Indios y de ellos bautizados mas de ochenta seis mill.' This is said of New Mexico." — Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 122, 1890.

40. Estufa. Literally the Spanish term for "stove," a misnomer now superseded by the more appropriate term *kiva*, the Hopi name of the ceremonial chamber of the Pueblo tribes. In very early times the estufa, or kiva, was the abode of the men of the tribe, as well as the place in which secret rites were performed, and in the ruins of the ancient cliff-dwellings there are a remarkable number of them. Kivas are likewise the lounging places of the men —their club-rooms, so to speak—when not occupied for ceremonial purposes. Kivas may be circular or rectangular, subterranean, semi-subterranean, or entirely above ground, and either isolated from the dwellings or obscured by them. They are entered by a hatchway in the roof, which is reached by a ladder, and are provided with openings in the wall sufficient only to afford light and ventilation. In the middle of the chamber is a firepit, the smoke from which escapes through the hatchway above; there is also a small opening in the floor at one side to symbolize the *Sipapu*, the place of origin and of departed spirits; usually the interior wall is surrounded by a bench of masonry, and there is often a low platform, also of masonry, at the rear of the ladder. The floors are usually paved with stone slabs, but in some instances they are of adobe mortar, smoothly plastered, while at Walpi, Arizona, a kiva is floored with hewn planks from the former mission church. Generally the walls of kivas are smoothly plastered and are without decoration of any sort, but in some cases the walls have paintings of anthropomorphic or zoömorphic beings, which pertain to Pueblo worship. In most of the Pueblo kivas ceremonies are performed which no white person has ever witnessed: this is notably the case with the Rio Grande villages.

The "estufas" of the Pueblos are first mentioned by the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition. "There are estufas or hot rooms in the villages, which are the courtyards or places where they gather for conversation," says Castañeda (Winship trans., p. 518). "The young men live in the estufas, which are in the yards of the village. They are underground, square or round, with pine pillars. Some were seen with twelve pillars and with four in the center as large as two men could stretch around. They usually had three or four pillars. The floor was made of large, smooth stones, like the baths which they have in Europe. They have a hearth made like the binnacle or compass box of a ship, in which they burn a handful of thyme [sage?] at a time to keep up the heat, and they can stay in there just as in a bath. The top was on a level with the ground. Some that were seen were large enough for a game of ball." (Ibid., pp 520–521.) "They [the Rio Grande pueblos] have hot houses, as in Cibola." (*Relación Postrera de Sívola*, Winship trans., p. 569.) "They all have hot rooms underground, which, although not very clean, are very warm." (Jaramillo, Winship trans., p. 587.) See plate XXIV. F. W. H.

41. This is perhaps the boniest passage in Benavides. Several of these provincial fish-names are altogether obsolete, and are to be found in no dictionary. *Bagre* is catfish — Ictalurus furcatus (channel cat) and Ameiurus natalis (yellow cat). *Trucha* is trout — Salmo spilurus. *Anguila* is eel — Anguilla chrysypa. *Boquinete* is unquestionably sucker, of which there are several varieties in New Mexico (as Moxostoma congestum). *Sardina* is doubtless one of the small silvery chubs (Notropis dilectus) which abound in various New Mexican streams; while of course true "sardines" are not found there. *Aguja*, "needle," would naturally be taken to be the garfish; but it is used by the native New Mexicans today (the very old-timers, that is) for the shovel-nosed sturgeon of the Rio Grande (Scaphirhynchus platyrhynchus). *Casson* is a puzzle. Doubtless it is for *cazon*, and refers to some *hunter*-fish — probably a gar pike (Lepisosteus platystomus). A dogfish is *cazon*; but of course there are no sharks in the Rio Grande. *Matalota* is the hardest knot of all. *Matalote* was an Aztec "man-killer." It is commonly used by the Mexicans of New Mexico and Arizona for a rack-o'-bones, sharp-backed, hard-gaited, worthless horse — an intelligible enough metaphor — but none of them nowadays apply it to any fish, so far as I can learn. Still, there is little doubt that it is a continuance of the same simile, and that *matalota* means some hard, bony, sharp-backed fish. It might be the sunfish or "punkin-seed," of which there are half a dozen species in the lower Rio Grande; or the buffalo fish, *corcobado* (hunchback), which is common as far up as Chama; or possibly the *gaspregou* or sheepshead (Aplodinotus granniens), a big, lean, tough, bony fish common in Texas rivers, but mostly below El Paso. If, however, we remember that in 1630 Arizona was an unnamed part of New Mexico, and that Benavides was for some time on the Gila, the puzzle is solved. Fray Francisco Garcés [see Coues, *Garcés*, I, p. 142], writing in 1776, says the only fish he found in the Gila was "that which they call matalóte, which is so very savory to the taste, but is troublesome on account of the many bones that it has." This is certainly the fish named "Gila" by Baird and Girard in 1853, after the river in which they found it. Dr. David Starr Jordan, besides identifying the other fish mentioned above, kindly sends this note:

"Garcés's remarks settle the *matalota*. There are no large fish in the Gila excepting the two large, bony chubs called, by Baird and Girard, Gila robusta and Gila elegans. In the very mouth of the river there is also a big, rawboned sucker of much the same build, called Xyrauchen cypho, the razor-back or hump-back sucker. The Gila is a hump-back chub, about a foot and a half long, with a low, large mouth and a long, broad tail. It is popularly known as bony-tail, Gila trout, and round-tail; and is about as poor eating as a fish can be. It is not found in the Rio Grande; but there is a chub of another group, somewhat similar in makeup, though not so aggravated a case. It reaches a length of 6 to 12 inches, and is found everywhere from San Luis Park, in eddies and deep places, as far as Brazos Santiago. This is called pescadito, or Rio Grande chub. It was first described from Chihuahua as a species of Gila, because in its humped back it much resembles the true Gila. Its right name is Leuciscus nigrescens."

Thanks are also due the expert linguist, Will M. Tipton, in this knotty point; and I have consulted many New Mexicans from the northern, central, and southern portions of the state. C. F. L.

42. The United States Weather Bureau has continuous meteorological records of New Mexico since 1849. The following table gives the maximum

Year	Santa Fe		Albuquerque		Year	Santa Fe		Albuquerque	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.		Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
1849	91	-6	*	*	1882	90	-1	*	*
1850	100	-11	94	-5	1883	*	*	*	*
1851	98	-2	*	7	1884	*	*	*	*
1852	*	*	*	*	1885	88	-3	*	*
1853	88	7	86	13	1886	93	-6	*	*
1854	92	-6	102	5	1887	87	-8	*	*
1855	99	-9	96	5	1888	90	-2	*	*
1856	92	0	104	5	1889	90	-1	*	*
1857	91	3	105	-4	1890	90	2	*	*
1858	85	0	100	-2	1891	87	-6	*	*
1859	89	-5	114	0	1892	90	1	*	15
1860	87	4	108	2	1893	89	5	98	11
1861	87	-9	110	-2	1894	86	0	95	0
1862	*	5	*	*	1895	87	-11	96	-10
1863	84	1	101	10	1896	89	7	100	13
1864	88	1	94	0	1897	85	-1	95	2
1865	91	3	102	7	1898	91	-6	104	0
1866	*	-8	*	*	1899	87	-5	104	1
1867	*	*	*	*	1900	89	7	101	9
1868	93	9	*	*	1901	89	1	99	4
1869	97	-3	*	*	1902	91	8	100	12
1870	94	-4	*	*	1903	89	-4	99	4
1871	98	9	*	*	1904	86	0	99	12
1872	89	0	*	*	1905	86	-3	99	3
1873	92	-2	*	*	1906	87	0	98	-4
1874	89	0	*	*	1907	87	5	101	8
1875	90	2	*	*	1908	86	-1	99	5
1876	89	-1	*	*	1909	91	-6	100	*
1877	90	2	*	*	1910	88	-7	*	*
1878	97	-2	*	*	1911	87	-8	*	*
1879	95	-13	*	*	1912	87	4	*	*
1880	88	-11	*	*	1913	90	-12	*	*
1881	94	-9	*	*	1914	87	5	*	*

* No record.

and minimum temperature at Santa Fe and Albuquerque from that year to 1914, so far as the record for those places is complete. The altitude of Santa Fe is 6,947 ft., of Albuquerque, 4,943 ft.

The Rio Grande has frozen over several times in the memory of people now living. Castañeda speaks of the Rio Grande as frozen over in 1540-41: "which for almost four months had been frozen over so that they crossed the ice on horseback."

To three specialists in New Mexico history the allusion by Benavides to the freezing of wine in the church seemed strained — we never had dealt with wine in cold weather, but investigation proves the assertion true beyond question. Omitting abundant testimony as to the congealing of wine in barrels, the precise thing Benavides speaks of has befallen many of his successors in New Mexico nearly three centuries later. They had never heard of Benavides; but among others the following priests have experienced in New Mexico the freezing of the sacramental wine upon the altar:

Rev. Father J. Coudert, Bernalillo, has ministered the sacrament in New Mexico ever since 1856. In the winter of 1869-70 the wine froze in the chalice on the altar in his church at Las Vegas. A hot stove was behind the altar. On Christmas day, 1863, wine froze at a mass he was saying under a temporary shelter at Prescott, Arizona. This section, of course, formed part of New Mexico in 1630.

Rev. Father Agustin Redon states that wine froze in the chalice on the altar in his church at Belen, January 7, 1874.

Rev. Father A. Docher communicates the fact that wine froze on the altar of the Isleta church in the winter of 1895-96 — not in the chalice but in the cruet.

C. F. L.

43. Apache. The name of this most southerly division of the Athapascan stock is said to be derived from a Yuman term signifying "fighting men," but as the term is first used by the Spaniards of New Mexico, 500 miles from the Yuma country bordering the Rio Colorado, it seems more likely that the popular designation may have come from the Zuñi name *Ápachu*, signifying "enemies," the term by which the Navaho are known to the Zuñi. The name Apache has also been applied, in combination, to tribes of the Yuman stock, as Apache Yumas, Apache Mohaves, etc. No group of tribes has been so completely confused by writers, owing to the fact that their popular names were derived largely from local or temporary habitat, regardless of their shifting propensities; hence some of the common names of apparently different Apache tribes or bands are synonymous, or practically so, while others are collective; again, as employed by some writers, a name may include much more or much less than when employed by others. The appended list will serve in a measure to explain the various Apache divisions, exclusive of the Navaho who in later times came to be regarded as an independent Athapascan tribe (see note 45):

I. *Vaqueros.* This name was first employed by Castaño de Sosa in 1590 to designate the buffalo-hunting Apache of eastern New Mexico and western Texas. They were the "Quereches, ó baqueros que viven en tiendas de cueros adobado, entre el ganado de Cibola; es infinita gente los Apiches," of Oñate (1599), and therefore identical with the Querechos of Coronado (1541), the latter name being the Pecos generic *Tágu-Kerésh* for the Apache, or the specific

Keretsâ for the Navaho tribe. They consisted, in whole or in part, of the tribes later known as Mescaleros, Jicarillas, Faraones, Lipans, and Llaneros — in other words, all the Apache who subsisted largely on the buffalo. For the Texas divisions of the Apache, see the thesis by William Edward Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718–1750," in *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, XIV, 198–274, Austin, Jan. 1911; and H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana–Texas Frontier, 1768–1780*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1914.

a. Of those mentioned, the *Mescaleros* (so named from their custom of eating mescal bread) seem to have been first mentioned by this name about the middle of the eighteenth century; they ranged from about eastern central New Mexico in the north to the Bolson de Mapimí, Chihuahua, in the south, and far into Texas; they are now on a reservation in Otero county, southern New Mexico.

b. The *Jicarillas*, or Xicarillas, were first mentioned in 1724, the name being derived from the small cup-shaped baskets (*jicaras*) which they manufacture. They were the northernmost of all the Apache, ranging north, northeast, and east of Taos, in northeastern New Mexico, southern Colorado, and southwestern Kansas, where they came in contact with the Ute and the Comanche. They are now on a reservation in Rio Arriba and Sandoval counties, northwestern New Mexico.

c. The *Faraones* (i.e. "Pharaohs") are no longer known, but they were very troublesome to the Rio Grande settlements early in the eighteenth century, when they lived in the Sandia mountains, east of the Rio Grande, and in the Sierra de los Ladrones west of that stream. The name was probably collective rather than specific, including several vagrant bands of Mescaleros, Mimbreños, and probably Mogollones, but as the various designations were indiscriminately given to any Indians seen in the regions which suggested the names of the respective bands, this cannot be determined to a nicety. Orozco y Berra gave Yuta-jenne as the native name of the Faraones or Faraonas, a term which he applies also to the Navaho but which seems to apply more specifically to the Ute (Uta, Yuta, Utah).

d. The *Llaneros*, or "Plainsmen," were an eastern division of the Apache, roaming the Llano Estacado of eastern New Mexico and western Texas, and extending southward into Coahuila. They comprised three divisions, the Nataje, Lipan, and Llanero proper, now known only as the Nadiisha (Nataje) or Kiowa Apache, and the Lipan. The former, numbering 139, are under the Kiowa agency, Oklahoma; the principal remnant of the Lipan are now with the Mescaleros in New Mexico, numbering 20, while 8 others are recorded as living in "other states," evidently referring to Oklahoma, where they are incorporated with the remnant of the Tonkawa.

II. *Chiricahua.* One of the most important divisions of the Apache group, so called from their former mountain home (*ts'ihl*, "mountain"; *kawa*, "great") in southeastern Arizona. Their own name is *Aiaha*, or *Hayá-a*. The Chiricahua were the most warlike of all the Arizona Indians, their raids extending into New Mexico, and throughout southern Arizona, northern Chihuahua, and northeastern Sonora. Among their well-known warriors were Cochise, Chato, Natchez or Nachai, Bonito, and Gerónimo. The tribe was removed to San Carlos reservation in 1876, because a couple of their number became drunk and killed the two white ruffians who sold them whisky. Ten years of hostility followed, and after the final round-up the leaders and their families were confined in Florida and Alabama and later sent to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where 271 still reside. Most of the tribe is under the San Carlos agency, Arizona, but the Apache divisions are no longer separately enumerated. One of the divisions of the Chiricahua are the:

a. Pinaleños, or Arivaipas, named respectively from the Pinaleño range and Arivaipa creek, in southeastern Arizona, where they formerly lived. The native name of this division is *Tchi-kún*, signifying "juniper," from an important clan or gens, hence, probably through misunderstanding, the popular Spanish name of the tribe, meaning "pinery people." Like the rest of the Chiricahua, the Pinaleños are so mixed with the other Apache of the White Mountain reservation that they can no longer be segregated. They should not be confounded with the Pinal Coyoteros.

III. *Coyotero.* So named, it is said, from their former habit of subsisting partly on coyotes. The name has been applied very indiscriminately, but is generally accepted to mean those Apache originally living in what is now the southern part of the White mountains of Arizona, between San Carlos creek and the Gila, although they ranged practically throughout the limits of the state. They numbered 528 in 1910, but are no longer separately reported in official returns.

Pinal Coyotero. These were so called because they were supposed to have been a part of the Coyoteros, usually inhabiting the Pinal mountains between Pinal and Pinto creeks and Salt river, although they were sometimes found pretty far from home. The name was also used synonymously with Tonto Apache, but not with Apache Tonto, which was the name of three or four mixed bands, principally of Yuman blood. The Spanish name Tonto ("stupid, ignorant, foolish") applied to these people is a misnomer. Their own name, *Dilzhay* or *Deldje*, signifying "red ant," was evidently originally the name of a clan or gens. The Tontos under the San Carlos and Camp Verde schools were officially reported to number 700 in 1910, but they are now classed merely as "Apache." The well-known "Tonto Basin" in Arizona derived its name from the tribe.

IV. *Gileño.* As already seen, this name was first applied by Benavides to the Apache of the upper waters of the Gila in New Mexico — possibly those who later became known as the *Tchishi-dinne*, or Warm Springs Apache, of whom Victório and Nané were famous warriors in 1880–82. Forty or fifty years ago the name Gileño specifically designated a small band living east of the Chiricahua, about the Rio Gila in southwestern New Mexico, and generically all of the Gila river Indians including parts of the Coyoteros, Mogollones, Pinal Coyoteros, Chiricahua, and Mimbreños, and even the Pima of another stock. The name, therefore, has no ethnic significance.

V. *Mimbreño.* While the principal habitat of these Apache was in the mountains from which they derived their name (the Mimbres), they roamed over an extensive territory from both sides of the Rio Grande in New Mexico southward into Coahuila, and westward to the present White mountains in Arizona. They are identical with the Coppermine Apaches of some writers, and with a part of the Gileños of others. The celebrated warrior "Mangas Colorado" (*Mangas Coloradas*, "Red Sleeves") was a member of this band.

VI. *Mogollon*. So called from their former range, the Mogollon mesa and mountains extending from western New Mexico into eastern Arizona, which in turn received its name from Don Juan Ignácio Flores Mogollon, governor of New Mexico, 1712–15.

As mentioned above, the Apache groups of Arizona are no longer officially segregated, being designated merely as "Apache." But in order that the proportionate population of the several divisions may approximately be determined, the Census returns of the Apache population for 1910 are given, as follows: Coyoteros, under San Carlos School, Arizona, 528; San Carlos Apaches, same school, 1,072; Tonto Apaches (including some Indians of Yuman affinity), same school, 582, and under the Camp Verde School, 118; White Mountain Apaches, under the Fort Apache School, 2,269; unclassified Apache under the Pima School, 59; Mescaleros, on Mescalero reservation, New Mexico, 463; Jicarillas, on Jicarilla reservation, New Mexico 743; Apaches (i.e., Kiowa Apaches or Nadiisha), under Kiowa School, Oklahoma, 165; Apaches (i.e., Chiricahua prisoners) under War Department at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 261; Lipan, in New Mexico, 20; in Oklahoma, 8. Total Apache population in 1910, 6,258. F. W. H.

44. The Father Custodian seems to express the belief that the Christianization of the Apache was already well under way; on the contrary it is much more likely that no impression whatever was made on these Indians, and that our friend Sanaba, whom Benavides had already "regaled," found it profitable, solely from a temporal point of view, to encourage the missionaries. How long the two friars (Fray Bartholomé Romero and Fray Francisco Muñoz) remained among these Apache is not known, but it seems to be well established that none of Benavides', or at least Perea's, successors attempted to repeat the experiment, and that during the next two and a half centuries the Apache were entirely without the spiritual consolation which the Father Custodian was so desirous of ministering. A little light is shed on the cause of the desire of the savages for the "good medicine" which the missionaries were believed by them to be able to prescribe, in treating of the conversion of the Jumano (note 53). Of the first missionary efforts in connection with the Apache, Perea (*Verdadera Relación*, 1632) says: "A la Nacion de los Apaches, de Quinia, y Manases, fueron el Padre Fray Bartholome Romero Lector de Theologia, y Fray Frãcisco Muñoz Predicador: y por ser la primera entrada en aquella Nacion belicosa, y guerrera, les fue haziendo escolta don Francisco de Sylva [Nieto] Governador de aquellas Provincias, con veinte soldados: si bien no fue necessaria la prevencion, porque de su parte faltò la resistencia, y sobiò el agrado cõ que pedian el Santo Baptismo." F. W. H.

45. *Navaho*. The origin of the name *Navaho* is thus given by Edgar L. Hewett (*American Anthropologist*, n. s., VIII, p. 193, 1906): "In the second valley south of the great pueblo and cliff village of Puye in the Pajarito Park, New Mexico, is a small pueblo ruin known to the Tewa Indians as Navahú, this being, as they claim, the original name of the village. The ruined villages of this plateau are all Tewa of the pre-Spanish period. This particular pueblo was well situated for agriculture, there being a considerable acreage of tillable land near by — far more than this small population would have utilized. The

old trail across the neck of the mesa to the north is worn hip-deep in the rocks, showing constant, long-continued use. I infer that these were the fields of not only the people of Navahú but also of the more populous settlements beyond the great mesa to the north where tillable land is wanting. The Tewa Indians assert that the name 'Navahú' refers to *the large area of cultivated lands*. This suggests an identity with *Navajó* which Fray Alonso de Benavides, in his Memorial on New Mexico published in 1630, applied to that branch of the Apache nation (Apaches de Navajó) then living to the west of the Rio Grande, beyond the very section above mentioned. Speaking of these people Benavides says: 'But these [Apaches] of Navajó are very great farmers [*labradores*], for that [is what] "Navajó" signifies — "great planted fields" (*sementeras grandes*).' These facts may admit of two interpretations. So far as we know, this author was the first to use the name Navaho in literature, and he would have been almost certain to have derived it from the Pueblos of New Mexico among whom he lived as Father Custodian of the province from 1622 to 1629, since the Navaho never so designated themselves. The expression 'the Apaches of Navajó' may have been used to designate an intrusive band that had invaded Tewa territory and become intrenched in this particular valley. On the other hand, the Navaho, since the pastoral life of post-Spanish times was not then possible to them, may have been so definitely agriculturists, as Benavides states (although he did not extend his missionary labors to them), and have occupied such areas of cultivated lands, that their habitat, wherever it was, would have been known to the Tewa as Navahú, 'the place of great planted fields.' If the first interpretation is correct, it would doubtless be verified by archeological evidences of the ruin of Navahú. It would seem at any rate that the Tewa origin of the tribal designation *Navaho* is assured."

The original home of the Navaho, as recognized by themselves, extended from the San Juan mountains in Colorado to the latitude of the San Mateo mountains in New Mexico, and from the vicinity of Jemez pueblo in the east to the San Francisco mountains of Arizona in the west. They now occupy a reservation of 4,990,000 acres in northwestern New Mexico, northeastern Arizona, and southeastern Utah, but many of their number live beyond its borders. While the Navaho are regarded as a division of the Athapascan family, there is no doubt that the tribe is composed largely of people of other stocks who have either been voluntarily adopted in considerable bodies as clans, or else captured during the numerous raids against weaker tribes, which made their name dreaded, especially by the sedentary Indians of the Rio Grande, for more than two and a half centuries. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the Navaho were insignificant. No mention is made of them by Coronado's chroniclers, although two side trips were made in 1540 through a part of their country. From traditionary evidence, substantiated by historical data, it has been found that the Navaho were very limited in number at the time of the Discovery, and that the wholesale adoption took place after the middle of the sixteenth century. Their name seems first to appear as Apaches de Nabajú, in the *Relación* of Zárate Salmerón, which treats of New Mexico history to the year 1626, although there is internal evidence that it was not finished until 1629. All early efforts to Christianize the Navaho proved failures. The only attempt that gave promise of success was made in 1746 by Padre Juan Menchero, who visited the Navaho country and induced several hundred to settle at Cebolleta, now a "Mexican" town north of Laguna; but the enterprise came to an end within a couple of years. In 1749 Menchero made another attempt, reëstablishing the Cebolleta mission and founding another at Encinal, directly north of Acoma, at what is now the Laguna village of Punyekia; but in the spring of 1750 these missions were abandoned by the two friars in charge, the Navaho not taking very kindly to sedentary life (see note 60). In 1804 the Navaho themselves asked that missionaries be sent to them at Cebolleta, but the request was not granted. The principal event in Navaho history since the United States took possession of the Southwest, was the Navaho war of 1861–64 — which had the usual result. Most of those who were not killed were taken to the Bosque Redondo, in the valley of the Pecos, but were returned to their former home in 1867, when they numbered about 9,000. The inaccurate United States census of 1890 gave the tribe a population of 17,204; the census returns of 1910 gave 22,394 (11,001 in Arizona, 10,354 in New Mexico, 1,039 in Utah). The Navaho are noted for their blankets of native manufacture on hand-looms — an industry doubtless introduced among them by adopted Pueblos, and greatly developed through the acquirement of sheep (now numbering about 800,000) originally stolen from Indian and Spanish flocks. They are also adept in the manufacture of silver jewelry and other ornaments — an art derived, of course, from the Spaniards. For additional information regarding the Navaho, consult the following: W. Matthews, Navajo Silversmiths, *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883; Navajo Weavers, *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1884; The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony, *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887; *Navaho Legends*, Boston and New York, 1897; The Night Chant, *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. VI, 1902; J. Stevenson, Ceremony of Hasjelti Dailjis, *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1891; C. Mindeleff, Navaho Houses, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1898; E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. I, 1907; F. W. Hodge, The Early Navajo and Apache, *American Anthropologist*, vol. VIII, July 1895; P. E. Goddard in *International Congress of Americanists, XV Sess.*, tome I, Quebec, 1907, and Indians of the Southwest, *American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Ser.*, 2, New York, 1913; A. M. Tozzer, Notes on Religious Ceremonials of the Navaho, *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1907; Franciscan Fathers, *Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, St. Michaels, Ariz., 1910; *Vocabulary of the Navaho Language*, St. Michaels, 1912. F. W. H.

46. Before the introduction of aniline dyes by traders, the Navaho still used native almogen (an impure alum) as a mordant in dyeing yellow, for which three vegetal products were employed, two of which were the flowering tops of *Bigelovia graveolens*, and the large, fleshy root of an unidentified plant. The third process is unknown, but with the two plants mentioned, the almogen was always used. (See Matthews, Navajo Weavers, *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 377, 1884.) Alum is found in abundant deposits in New Mexico, especially on the upper Rio Gila in Grant county, where it is said there are two thousand acres of pure alum. Other deposits are in Mora, Taos, Sandoval, and San Miguel counties. (See "*To the Land of Sunshine*," 2d ed., p. 105, Santa Fe, 1906.) F. W. H.

47. Capoo. This is close to the aboriginal name since applied to the pueblo, the strict form being *K'ha-pó-o* (see page 238). (In 1895 the writer was informed by a *viejo* of Santa Clara that the original "Capó-o" was a few hundred yards northwest of the present village; thence its inhabitants moved to the Puyé mesa on account of Navaho inroads, but were finally induced by the Spaniards to build the present town. Bandelier fixes the date of the erection of the present church at Santa Clara at 1760. From the fact that Benavides remained in New Mexico for some months after his successor, Estevan de Perea, arrived with the thirty priests and lay brothers in the spring of 1629, and that various missions were established during the latter part of that year, it is not positively known which of the ten monasteries Benavides actually founded. Excluding that at Santa Fe, there were ten churches in the province in 1617, while in 1630 Benavides either reports directly or else intimates that there were twenty-three monasteries, excluding those of Santa Fe and Acoma, and the two at Zuñi. The ten pueblo churches in 1617 were at San Geronimo de los Taos, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Pecos, San Ildefonso, San Diego de Jemez, San José de Jemez, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Cruz de Galisteo, San Francisco de Sandia, and Santa Clara. Of the new monasteries, therefore, we are only reasonably certain of Senecú, Socorro, Sevilleta, Isleta, Santa Clara, a third Queres pueblo (probably Cochití), a third Tewa pueblo (probably San Juan), and Picurís. Perhaps other of the pueblos besides Santa Clara which contained churches in 1617 may have had no monasteries when Benavides took charge, while on the other hand, the missions of Acoma, Zuñi, and the pueblos of the Salinas may have been regarded by Fray Alonso as established under his supervision, as assuredly were the two at Jemez which had been abandoned. F. W. H.

48. Stigmata of St. Francis. This has reference to the reputed appearance, both during the life as well as after the death of St. Francis of Assisi (the founder of the Franciscan Order), of the five wounds of Christ on his body, which were believed to have had a miraculous origin during a vision while St. Francis was in solemn meditation on Mount La Verna. Several witnesses testified to the occurrence, including Pope Alexander IV, who claimed to have seen the wounds also before the death of the saint. This supposedly divine infliction, being the first of its kind, resulted in according the Franciscan Order unusual prestige. Says Rev. Augustin Poulain, S. J., of Paris (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, p. 295): "The first [stigmatic] mentioned is St. Francis of Assisi, in whom the stigmata were of a character never seen subsequently: in the wounds of feet and hands were excrescences of flesh representing nails, those on one side having round black heads, those on the other having rather long points, which bent back and grasped the skin. The saint's humility could not prevent a great many of his brethren beholding with their own eyes the existence of these wonderful wounds during his lifetime as well as after his death. The fact is attested by a number of contemporary historians, and the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis is kept on 17th September." (See note 10.) F. W. H.

49. The name Cibola was first employed in 1539 by Fray Marcos de Niza, who learned of it as the name of the "province" of the Zuñi Indians in the language of one of the Piman tribes of what is now northern Sonora or southern

Arizona. Later it was applied by this Franciscan to the pueblo of Hawikuh of the Zuñi, the principal and only one of the seven seen by him, and that to which Coronado gave the name Granada. Bearing in mind the *Relación* of Cabeza de Vaca, who with his companions made that wonderful first journey across the buffalo plains of Texas between 1528 and 1536, the name Cibola for a time became the designation of the then practically unknown and otherwise unnamed region of the north, and, naturally enough (when the illusion concerning the Seven Cities of Cibola — as the Zuñi pueblos were called — had been dispelled), Cibola, Sibola, Zivolo, etc., became the name by which was known the most numerous as well as the most noteworthy beast (the *Bison americanus*) which inhabited the area covered by the marvelous explorations that followed. The buffalo seen by Cabeza de Vaca were not the very first to greet the eyes of a Spaniard, however, for it is recorded that Montezuma had among other animals in his zoölogical collection a "Mexican bull" which was said to be "a wonderful composition of divers animals; it has crooked shoulders, with a hunch on its back like a camel; its flanks dry, its tail large, and its neck covered with hair like a lion; it is cloven footed, its head armed like that of a bull, which it resembles in fierceness, with no less strength and agility." Even the briefest sketch of the bison from the date of these early references to the settlement of the Great West, when the fate of the untold millions of these noble beasts became sealed through the systematic, relentless, cruel, and shameful slaughter still fresh in mind as a blot on our national history, cannot here be given, owing to limitations of space. Yet a word on the importance of the animal to the tribes of the plains seems necessary. No writer, early or recent, has more tersely or completely covered the ground in this direction than the author of the *Relación Postrera de Sivola*, translated for the first time by Winship. He says: "The maintenance or sustenance of these Indians comes entirely from the cows [bison], because they neither sow nor reap corn. With the skins they make their houses, with the skins they clothe and shoe themselves, of the skins they make rope, and also of the wool; from the sinews they make thread, with which they sew their clothes and also their houses; from the bones they make awls; the dung serves them for wood, because there is nothing else in that country; the stomachs serve them for pitchers and vessels from which they drink; they live on the flesh; they sometimes eat it half roasted and warmed over the dung, at other times raw; . . . they drink the blood just as it leaves the cows; . . . they have no other means of livelihood." The *Relación* might have added that the skins also provided traveling-bags, shields, and coffins. Can we point, in the history of mankind, to another animal that has served every purpose of food and drink, clothing, shelter, fuel? Little wonder, then, that the passing of the buffalo meant also the passing of the Indian hunter, who thenceforth must be forced between fixed bounds, usually on lands that his white neighbor had little use for, an abused, dissatisfied dependent, whose principal object in life was to be present on "issue day." The practical disappearance of the bison was due to a wantonness that would scarcely have been possible without the aid of the railroads. The completion of the Union Pacific in 1869 divided the herds forever, and soon the systematic slaughter began; hundreds of thousands were killed for their tongues alone. During the years from 1872 to 1874, the railroads across the plains shipped 1,378,359 hides, while the total number of buffalo killed by the whites during this period exceeded three millions — all of these from the southern herd. By 1887 the only buffalo remaining in the southern plains were a herd of 200 in northwestern Texas. In the winter of that year, two parties, one headed by a certain Lee Howard, attacked them, killing 52, evidently for the pittance there was in it. The northern herd went the same way — but by different roads. It is estimated that for fifty years prior to the building of the Northern Pacific in 1881–82, from 50,000 to 100,000 hides were annually shipped down the Missouri river by traders to railroad points. In 1881 a hundred thousand buffalo were butchered by men employed at a monthly wage; by 1882 there were 5,000 white butchers and skinners on the northern range; in 1883 a single herd of 75,000, as if regardful of their fate, crossed the Yellowstone and headed for Canada; but the butchers and skinners were on their track — one-fifteenth of their number reached the Dominion, but these did not last long. The rest of the story is well known. The various "Societies for the Prevention," etc., came forward, but it was too late. Robes were bringing fancy prices; the meat of a stray bison was now worth shipping; later the horns and the bones were found to be marketable — and perhaps it is well that these thousands of tons of bleaching reminders of a national shame were gathered and ground into fertilizer. Consult Allen in *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Kentucky*, I, pt. 2, 1876; Hornaday in *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1887*, Washington, 1889. F. W. H.

50. The buffalo began to shed in the beginning of spring, the process continuing until about the first of October. The Indians of Virginia and New England, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, made garments of buffalo hair, and various tribes of the plains made reatas of the same material. Little use of it was made by the whites, owing mainly to the lack of available sources of supply. In 1821 the Red River colonists of Canada organized the "Buffalo Wool Company" in expectation of making a fortune. Skilled workmen with the necessary machinery were imported, but the supply of "wool" was found to be inadequate, and after it was discovered that the company could get in England only 4*s*. 6*d*. per yard for their product which cost £2 10*s*. to manufacture, the industry came to an end. For an illustrated account of various uses of buffalo hair by the Indians, see Bushnell in *Man*, London, 1906, no. 111, and in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. XI, no. 3, Lancaster, Pa., July–Sept. 1909. F. W. H.

51. This refers to the use of the *travois*, or *travail*, of the Plains tribes and early *voyageurs*. It consisted of two lodge or tent poles, their forward ends harnessed, shaft-fashion, to either side of the dog (or the horse, since there have been horses), the free ends dragging on the ground behind. A netted receptacle was often fastened from pole to pole, about midway, to hold camp equipage, provisions, babies, and what-not. Before the coming of the Europeans, the dog and the turkey were the only domesticated animals possessed by the Western tribes. There were no horses, cattle, sheep, goats, burros, swine, cats. The most startling change in Indian history came with the introduction, by Europeans, of domestic animals, metals, and fire-arms. F. W. H.

52. Whether the governor alluded to was Don Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto or his predecessor Don Felipe Zotylo, we are left to surmise. Probably

it was not Silva Nieto; for he, with 20 soldiers, personally accompanied Fathers Romero and Muñoz to their far mission in the west (see note 8). Two of the longest and most beautiful inscriptions on El Morro, or Inscription Rock, are by Governor Silva Nieto, July 29 and August 9, 1629 (pl. XLIII, XLIV). Zotylo served as governor from 1621 to 1628, when he was succeeded by Silva Nieto. Whichever was the guilty official, his project was in flagrant violation of the Laws of the Indies, which stipulated as early as 1526 that no Indian should be enslaved, or sold or bartered for purposes of slavery. Everything in the context of the *Memorial* indicates that Zotylo must have been the offender; and Governor Silva Nieto's expedition in which he "carried the faith" (vide the inscription) seems to have been one of the means by which, say Benavides, "we are reclaiming it anew." F. W. H.

53. Jumano. These Indians are identified with several tribes or bands belonging to the Caddoan stock, including the Wichita, originally of Kansas, and the Tawéhash or Taovayas of Texas, although in the case of the latter the Jumano are sometimes mentioned as a distinct people. The Jumano were first seen, though not named, by Cabeza de Vaca, about the beginning of 1536, between the Conchos and the Rio Grande in the present Chihuahua, in which territory they were found also by Antonio de Espejo late in 1582, this explorer calling them Jumanas and Patarabueyes, and ascribing to them a population of 10,000 in five villages; but Espejo's estimates of population are always greatly exaggerated. In 1598 Oñate referred to them as Rayados, on account of their custom of tattooing, painting, or otherwise striating their faces (the Wichita at a later period were known as Pawnee Picts, Speckled Pawnee, etc.), and later wrote of a more northerly division occupying the villages of Atripuy, Genobey, Quelotetrey, and Pataotrey, "con sus subgetos," situated in the vicinity of the Salinas, or salt lagoons, east of the Rio Grande in the present New Mexico (*Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, XVI, p. 114). To these settlements Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned as priest, but the field was so vast and the missionary laborers so few that aside from a few baptisms it is not probable that active steps were taken toward their spiritual welfare until Benavides' time. The first active missionary to the Jumano was Fray Francisco Letrado, a member of Perea's band of thirty. How long Letrado remained among the Jumano is not known, but the period probably did not exceed a year, as three years later he was among the Zuñi, and, as we have already seen (notes 8, 37), was murdered by those Indians, February 22, 1632. For the missionary efforts of Salas and his companions among the Jumano, see note 54.

It should not be assumed that because Jumano were found living on the Rio Nueces (identified by Bolton as the Rio Colorado) of Texas in 1650 by Hernan Martin and Diego del Castillo, and in 1654 by Diego de Guadalajara and a party of thirty soldiers, that they had removed from the Conchos junction in Chihuahua and from New Mexico, as their subsequent history would seem to indicate that they were split into several bands, and there is even ground for suspicion that the name Jumano (in many forms of spelling) was applied to several tribes of the Caddoan stock living in Texas and the adjacent country. It will be recalled (see notes 17, 22) that the Piro and the Tigua pueblos of the Salinas in New Mexico were abandoned on account of Apache depredations in 1669–1675. Presumably driven from the Salinas with the Pueblos at this time, Indians of the "Xoman" tribe were found in 1675 a short distance north of the Rio Grande and east of the Pecos. The Pueblo revolt followed in 1680, in which the Jumano did not participate; indeed there is evidence that they were friendly to the Spaniards during this trying period. While the rebellion was still in progress, that is, on October 20, 1683, a delegation of the tribe, led by Juan Sabeata, visited El Paso, then the seat of the New Mexican government, and petitioned for missionaries, saying that thirty-three nations, including his own, were awaiting baptism, since, being on the point of a great battle and anxious because they were few while their enemies numbered more than thirty thousand, they invoked the aid of the cross as their forefathers had done, when they defeated their enemies and gained much spoils of war without losing a man. The relation of this miracle proved to be only a ruse that the Spaniards might be induced to accompany the Jumano across the Rio Conchos to their territory without fear of the Apache, who were blocking the way. Nevertheless, their story was believed and three friars (Nicolás López, Juan de Zavaleta, and Antonio de Acevedo) accompanied the Jumano back to their home at La Junta (the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande), followed a fortnight later by Juan Dominguez de Mendoza and a small escort. Leaving Father Acevedo at La Junta, the party proceeded eastwardly to another band of Jumano about the junction of the Concho and the Colorado, latitude 31° 30′, in Texas. In January, 1684, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza (who had been a member of Guadalajara's party of thirty years earlier) and Fray Nicolás López, with a small escort of soldiers, went to the Jumano on the Rio Nueces (Colorado), where a number of Indians were baptized and nearly five thousand buffalo-skins obtained. This journey led to attempts to establish missions among the Jumano, Dominguez and López visiting Mexico for that purpose, but the glowing prospects set forth in their petitions were regarded as too fantastic for favorable consideration. Chiefly from unpublished Spanish documents in the archives of Mexico, Bolton has shown that almost continuously for the decade between 1683 and 1693 a Jumano tribe lived "near the Rio Grande, both above and below the Pecos, or hunting buffalo in south central Texas. Their winter home was characteristically near the Pecos and Rio Grande, while in summer they journeyed to the buffalo plains of the Guadalupe and the Colorado. They were enemies of the Apaches, who had crowded them southward from the upper Colorado." Specifically, in 1686 they were, with other tribes, at La Junta, whither they had been driven from the Nueces by the Apache; and the following year the "Chouman" were heard of by members of the ill-fated La Salle party west or southwest of the lower reaches of the Rio Colorado, two days' journey from the Spanish settlements. In 1688 the Jumano were reported by Spaniards near the Rio Grande, on the border of Coahuila, and in the following year Alonso de León found a rancheria of "Jumenes" and others five leagues south of the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the present Eagle Pass. They were a comparatively numerous tribe in 1691, as Terán and Massanet in that year visited a hunting camp of the Jumano and other Indians, the Jumano alone numbering three hundred warriors, the document pertaining to this expedition referring to them as "the Xumano tribe of the Rio [Grande] del Norte and the Rio Salado [Pecos]." Juan Sabeata, before mentioned, was their chief at this time. From 1693 to 1716 Texas was abandoned by the Spaniards, consequently only glimpses of the Jumano were had during this period, but it is not probable that their habitat materially changed during this time. On the return of the Spaniards to Texas in 1716 they found the Jumano in alliance with the Apache, and consequently at enmity with the Spaniards and the Téxas (Hasinai); and these relations continued during the second and third decades of the century at least, during which period the Jumano were found in their old haunts both along the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the Rio Concho of Texas and in the central part of the province. Bolton states that after 1733 the Jumano "come to be regarded not merely as allies of the Apache, but as a division of the Apache," and are called "los Apaches Jumanes." This must not be taken to signify ethnic or linguistic relation of the two peoples, but rather that the term "Apache" indicated "wild," "predatory," "warlike," as it was frequently used in such sense in New Mexico and was not infrequently applied to outlaw tribes bearing no relation to the Athapascan Apache. In 1746 the Jumano, as Bolton says, "were habitually found in the region of the Rio Grande, on the borders of Coahuila and Nueva Viscaya, and that they sometimes made raids into Nuevo León." From 1750 the Taovayas (Tawéhash) of the Red River country of Texas, frequently called Jumano by the Spaniards of New Mexico, were allied with the Comanche (who had drifted into the southern plains from the north at the beginning of the century), and consequently were enemies of the Apache—unlike their congeners of the Rio Grande-Conchos region, who, as we have seen, were Apache allies in the first half of the eighteenth century and still retained that relation in 1771. This shows the aberrant character of the Jumano-Taovayas bands of Texas and their tendency during a long period to submit to the influence of tribes as widely different in habits and character as the Pueblos and the Apache. Occasionally after La Salle's time (1687) they are mentioned in French sources, and a century later (1789) the French recommended the opening of trade between New Mexico and Louisiana by establishing a presidio among the Jumano in Texas. In 1825 the Comanche reported that the Kiowa had separated from them "and had gone to the pueblo of the Jumanes for a council of war, for the purpose of attacking those in the north; this is what the Comanches said and they believed that such separation and going to the Town of the Jumanes is for the purpose of joining the said Town of Jumanes." (Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, 347.) As late as the middle of the nineteenth century the Jumano (here probably the Wichita of the present Oklahoma) were mentioned in connection with the Kiowa, since which time no reference of them, at least under the name Jumano, seems to have been made in history. Bandelier in 1890 asserted that he found a trace of them, dating about 1855, when they were living in Texas "not far from the Comanches." In 1895 the present writer was informed by the venerable José Miguel Péco (Zu-wâ-ng'), a native of Pecos, then residing at Jemez, but since deceased, that he remembered having seen some "Humanesh," as he called them, many years ago. They lived in tipis, he said, not in houses, a month's journey from the Rio Grande, in the "Sierra Jumanos," which, by the way, in the form "Jumanes Mountains," is the name by which Josiah Gregg, author of the excellent *Commerce of the Prairies*, knew the Wichita mountains. They differed somewhat from the Comanche, whom the Pecos people called Ko-mant'-sesh.

Consult: *Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, t. XV, XVI (for Espejo and Oñate); Hodge, The Jumano Indians, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*,

n. s., xx, pt. 2, 1910; Bolton, The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650–1771, *Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, vol. xv, no. 1, 1911; The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519–1690, ibid., vol. xvi, no. 1, 1912; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 1889, and *North Mexican States and Texas*, passim; Bandelier, *Final Report*, 1890–1892; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, cap. iv, repr. 1871; Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa*, 1882; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. II, 1914. F. W. H.

54. As Benavides himself refers to the labors of Fray Juan de Salas in New Mexico during "years back," and as there is no mention of this friar by Perea, it is evident that Fray Juan went to New Mexico at least as early as the first part of Benavides' custodianship (see note 6). In 1629 he resided in the monastery which he had erected at San Antonio de la Isleta, of which pueblo he became the first missionary, probably in 1622, whence he ministered also to the Indians of the Salinas, including the Jumano, until 1629, when the arrival of the new missionaries under Perea, as Benavides relates, enabled the establishment of independent missions in that region. On July 22, 1629, some 50 Jumano appeared at Isleta, where the custodian (probably Perea) was then staying, to renew their oft-repeated request for resident missionaries, which had always been refused on account of the rapidly diminishing force. It is this visit to which Benavides refers. Fray Diego López, Salas' companion on the journey to the Jumano, was probably also in New Mexico when Perea arrived; although among the followers of that custodian were Fr. Tomás de *San Diego*, Fr. *Diego* de la Fuente, and Fr. *Diego* de San Lucas, all of whom were assigned to the "great town of the Humanas, and in those called Pyros and Tompiros." It is hardly believable that the Jumano ever occupied a typical pueblo in this region, or indeed anywhere else. Their habitat, or tribal range, was at this time some 112 leagues or 295 miles eastward from the Rio Grande, as Benavides says, and it is more likely that the mission of San Isidore (probably never designed to be permanent) was established at one of the Piro pueblos (possibly Tabirá) for their benefit. However this may have been, the mission of San Isidore did not exist long, nor did Salas remain with the Jumano for an extended period, since in 1632, accompanied by Diego Ortega and a small guard, he again visited the Jumano on a stream appropriately called the Nueces, which Bolton identifies with the Rio Colorado of Texas (see notes 6, 53). In 1643 Salas was priest at Quarrá or Quaraí, and about 1650 Gerónimo de la Llana assumed charge of this mission, possibly on account of Salas' death. At the time of the destruction of the pueblos of the Salinas by the Apache, between 1669 and 1675, the New Mexican Jumano resided fifteen leagues eastward from those towns and were ministered by the priest at Quaraí. The name of the Jumano tribe and settlement is preserved in the "Mesa Jumanes" about the boundary of Torrance and Socorro counties, New Mexico, of present-day maps. See the preceding note on the Jumano. F. W. H.

55. The picture of the nun, Luisa de Carrión, was in possession of Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga (founder of the mission of Socorro), according to Vetancurt (*Crónica*, p. 302, ed. 1871), who recounts the occurrence. The young and beautiful nun was afterward asserted to be Maria de Jesús, otherwise known as Maria de Ágreda, of the town of Ágreda in the province of Soria,

Spain; born in 1602; died May 24, 1665. Her family name was Coronel. She is said to have made a vow of chastity at the age of eight, and entered the Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Ágreda with her mother in 1619, her father and two brothers becoming Franciscan friars at the same time. When twenty-five years of age she was made abbess by papal dispensation, and save for an interval of three years she remained superior all her life. Maria de Jesús became celebrated chiefly through her book, *La Mística Ciudad de Dios, História Divina de la Virgen, Madre de Dios*, which she conceived in 1627 and purports to be the account of revelations which the author declares were made to her by God. Among other preposterous things, she describes all that happened to the Virgin during the nine months she was in her mother's womb; while certain details given in the fifteenth chapter were denounced as indecent. The work was condemned in Rome in 1681 by the Congregation of the Inquisition, but at the instance of Charles II the decree was suspended for Spain. The work was printed in Madrid in 1670, but it did not attract much attention outside of Spain until the first part was published in French at Marseilles in 1696. This was a signal for a storm, which broke out especially in the Sorbonne. The French translation having transgressed the order of Rome, it was referred to the Sorbonne, which condemned the book. Bossuet objected to its title, "its apocryphal stories, its indecent language, and its exaggerated Scotist philosophy." The canonization of Maria de Jesús was urged in 1672, and again in 1729, and although she died with the reputation of a saint, the canonization was never effected.

The so-called miraculous manifestations of Maria de Jesús as set forth in her *La Mística Ciudad* are characteristic of those she professed to have had in connection with the Indians of New Mexico. We have an inkling of these in the *Memorial* of Benavides, and have already seen (note 2) that he visited the nun at Ágreda in 1631, where he had every opportunity of hearing, from the lady's own lips, of her marvelous "flights" to New Mexico, where she had converse with the Indians in their own languages, although she knew not a word of them excepting while on the spot. At the time of Benavides' interview, which seemingly extended over two weeks, Maria de Jesús was twenty-nine years of age, "of beautiful face, of white skin, but of rosy color, and large black eyes. The form of her habit, and of all the nuns of the convent, who are twenty-nine in all, is exactly like our habit, that is, it is of gray sackcloth, very coarse and worn next to the skin, without any other tunic, dress skirt or underskirt, and over this gray habit is worn the white sackcloth habit, also coarse, with a scapulary of the same and the cord of our Father, Saint Francis . . . The habit which she has worn personally most of the time has been that of our Father, Saint Francis, and at other times that of the Conception, together with the veil, although always with the sleeves rolled up, and the white skirts drawn up so as to show more of the gray." The first time she went to New Mexico was in 1620, says Benavides. "These flights have been so continuous that there have been days in which there were more than three or four in less than twenty-four hours." She told Benavides that she had accompanied him at the baptism of the Pizos [Piros?] Indians, and that she recognized him as being the same person whom she saw there. She also assisted Father Cristóbal Quirós in several baptisms, and she gave Benavides "the exact description of his person, his face, even to the point of saying that he is old but that he did not show any signs of gray hairs, but that he was long-faced and ruddy." She likewise told how "one time the Father [Quirós] was standing baptizing in his church when a number of Indians gathered around the door; that she was there and pushed them in with her own hands . . . that they were looking to see who pushed them, and that they laughed when they could not see who it was," and so forth, of like purport. The lady not only transported herself fifteen thousand or twenty thousand miles a day, for "once she took from here [Ágreda] a chalice for Consecration and with it the Friars said Mass and had a procession with the Blessed Sacrament. All this will be found there [in New Mexico] and many Crosses and Rosaries which she has given."

In a letter of Don Damien Manzanet to Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora relative to the discovery of the Bay of Espíritu Santo (Matagorda bay), Texas, the writer says, in speaking of the period of the Alonso de León expedition in 1689, that at that time "I was living at the Mission Caldera, in the province of Coahuila, whither I had gone with the intention of seeing whether I could make investigations and obtain information about the interior of the country to the north and northeast, on account of facts gathered from a letter now in my possession, which had been given in Madrid to the Father Fray Antonio Binaz. This letter treats of what the blessed Mother Maria de Jesús de Ágreda made known in her convent to the Father Custodian of New Mexico, Fray Alonso de Benavides. And the blessed Mother tells of having been frequently to New Mexico and to the Gran Quivira, adding that eastward from the Gran Quivira are situated the kingdoms of Ticlas, Theas, and Caburcol. She also says that these names are not exactly the ones belonging to those kingdoms, but come close to the real names. Because of this information, brought by me from Spain, together with the fact of my call to the ministry for the conversion of the heathen, I had come over and dwelt in the missions of Coahuila." (Manzanet letter in *Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, II, pp. 282–283, April 1899.) Again Manzanet says: "For lack of more time I shall now only add what is the most noteworthy thing of all, namely this: While we were at the Tejas [Hasinai] village, after we had distributed clothing to the Indians and to the governor of the Tejas, that governor asked me one evening for a piece of blue baize to make a shroud in which to bury his mother when she died; I told him that cloth would be more suitable, and he answered that he did not want any color other than blue. I then asked him what mysterious reason he had for preferring the blue color, and in reply he said that they were very fond of that color, particularly for burial clothes, because in times past they had been visited frequently by a very beautiful woman, who used to come down from the hills, dressed in blue garments, and that they wished to do as that woman had done. On my asking whether that had been long since, the governor said it had been before his time, but his mother, who was aged, had seen that woman, as had also the other old people. From this it is easily to be seen that they referred to the Madre Maria de Jesús de Ágreda, who was very frequently in those regions, as she herself acknowledged to the Father Custodian of New Mexico, her last visit having been made in 1631, this last fact being evident from her own statement, made to the said Father Custodian of New Mexico." (Ibid., pp. 311–312.) Regarding the color of the baize so particularly specified by the Indian, it should be noted that Benavides just as explicitly states that the habit of the nun was gray.

This no doubt will prove sufficient to indicate the mental character of this nun. For other performances to which she laid claim, see the letter of Benavides, together with her own communication, before cited.

For more detailed information regarding Maria de Jesús, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. I, s.v. "Agreda," with bibliography, but which does not refer to the nun's manifestations in New Mexico; Vetancurt, *Crónica*, repr. 1871; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols., 1886–92; Manzanet (Massanet), Carta, in *Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, vol. II, April 1899; Bolton in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVI, no. I, July 1912. F. W. H.

56. The Iapes and Xabatoas, as Benavides notes, were neighbors of the Jumano, evidently that branch of this erratic people then on the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the present Eagle Pass, Texas (see note 53). It was in this general neighborhood that the Iapes lived in 1675, when Fernando del Bosque found the "Apes" in association with the Catujanos, Tilijaes, and Pachaques (Parchaque), tribes evidently of Coahuiltecan affinity which occupied the country northeast of Monclova, Coahuila, across the Rio Grande (Fernando del Bosque in *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, vol. XIV, no. 9, p. 347, Washington, September 1903). Alonso de León mentions the "Hapes" with other tribes in 1689: "They were five nations joined together, . . . entitled Hapes, Jumenes [Jumano], Xiabu [Xabatoas?], Mescale, and another. We counted eighty-five huts . . . There were 490 of them." (Alonso de León in *Texas Hist. Asso. Quar.*, vol. VIII, no. 3, p. 205, January 1905.) Benavides speaks here also of the provinces of Quivira and Aixaos. The name Quivira was first employed by the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition in 1540–42 to designate the Wichita and their tribal range in the present Kansas (see Winship, The Coronado Expedition, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*). The route of the expedition from Pecos pueblo in New Mexico was southeastwardly to the buffalo plains of western Texas, thence northward to the Arkansas river (the Quivira country) and beyond. The Wichita gradually drifted southward to the vicinity of the Wichita mountains — a movement that had commenced prior to Benavides' time, for his Quivira seems to have been farther southward (i.e., in latitude 37°) than during the previous century, that is, the Wichita had probably abandoned the Arkansas and Smoky Hill country of Kansas, where they were met on the north by their kindred, the Pawnee, and during the early part of the seventeenth century were 150 leagues (about 400 miles) eastward from Santa Fe, which would place them approximately in the vicinity of the Cimarron or the Canadian river in Oklahoma, just north of the mountains to which the Wichita lent their name and which also at one time was known as the Jumano mountains (note 53). The Aixaos mentioned by Benavides were evidently not the inhabitants of the province called "Harahey" by Jaramillo, and "Harale" by the *Relación del Suceso* (see Winship, op. cit.), which adjoined the Quivira province in 1541 and which we have identified with the Pawnee country; but more likely the "Haxa," who, while on the Texas plains, Coronado learned were farther east from where his army then was. I am inclined to think that the Aixaos (or Haxas) were the Eyeish (Aix, Ayas, Aij, etc.), a tribe of the Caddo confederacy which lived in eastern Texas, and was gathered in the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores

de los Ais, near the Sabine river, in 1716. Later they were said to have lived on a bayou bearing their name (Ayish, or Eyeish bayou), crossed by the road from Natchitoches to the Nacogdoches, about 12 miles west of the Sabine river. In 1782 they were reported to number 20 families, near the river mentioned; by 1805 they were near the Nacogdoches. Four years later there were said to have been only 25 survivors, and by 1820 these were reduced to 20, on Angelina river. It is also stated that in 1828 the "Aix" had 160 families, lived between the Brazos and the Colorado, and were allies of the Comanche, Tawakoni, and others. The last given population probably included other Caddoan divisions. On Caddo authority the Eyeish in 1881 were said to form a clan of that tribe. Those known as Caddo numbered 436 in 1910, in Oklahoma. Benavides, it will be seen, placed the Aixaos 30 or 40 leagues east of Quivira, or in southern Oklahoma; but as directions and distances are usually only approximated by our author, especially in those parts not personally visited by him, the location of the Aixaos province, if identifiable with that of the Aix or Eyeish, was probably much more southeastwardly, in eastern Texas, where its inhabitants, the Eyeish, dwelt within the last century. F. W. H.

57. It was the hope of obtaining gold, be it remembered, that led Coronado on his wild-goose chase across the plains some ninety years before. Of course he found none; and, indeed, it is very doubtful if the natives, even in Benavides' time, knew what gold was. All references in the *Memorial* to mineral wealth, therefore, should be taken *cum grano salis*, and our author's entire allusion to the subject regarded as an appeal for means to colonize and Christianize the region in the hope of an adequate return in wordly possessions at least. See note 21. F. W. H.

58. Regarding the great pilot Vicente Gonzales we quote the following from Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562–1574*, app. DD, p. 459, New York, 1905: "The Chesapeake was visited in 1588 by Vincente Gonzales, for he entered a bay where the Indians told him there was an English settlement towards the north on a river flowing into it, but Gonzales does not give the name of the bay. ('Relación que dió el Capitan Vizente Gonzales,' 1588, MS. Direc. de Hidrog., Madrid, *Col. Navarrete*, tomo XIV., Doc. no. 54, vol. 8.) Juan Menéndez Marqués in his 'Relación escrita en el fuerte de San Agustin . . . al P. Comisario General de Indias Fr. Miguel Avengoçar,' June 7, 1606 (Ruidíaz, tomo II, p. 498), refers to this expedition of 1588 as being to the Bay of Jacan. 'Y aviendo por el año de 88 ydo al descubrimiento de la baya de la Madre de Dios del Jacan, y tomar lengua de la poblacion del ynglés, juntamente con el Capitan Vincente Gonzales,' etc." See also Alexander Brown, *First Republic in America*, pp. 88, 91, 1898. F. W. H.

59. As Benavides intimates, he derived his information from the maps of the period, imperfect though they were, rather than from personal knowledge, since there is no evidence that he ever went east of the Piro and Tigua pueblos of the Salinas. His plan was to save the time, trouble, and expense of sending men and supplies over the terrible land route from the City of Mexico to the New Mexican settlements by establishing a post on Matagorda bay (called

Espíritu Santo by the Spaniards, and later Baye St. Louis by the French), in eastern Texas, or, as he states, on the coast between Florida and the port of Tampico, Mexico. The name Espíritu Santo (Holy Spirit) was a favorite one with the Spaniards, for it was applied also to the Mississippi and to the small bay into which it was supposed to discharge, as well as to Tampa bay — all in the Gulf of Mexico. In his latitude of Matagorda bay Benavides was only about 30′ out of the way. The entire project would have been all very well had the overland route not been already blazed, and had Benavides been able to induce his superiors to regard more favorably his wonderful stories of wealth in gold and buffalo products. At any rate, Benavides' foresight is shown by the fact that fifty-five years later (in 1685) Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, established his Fort St. Louis, in the name of the King of France, on Lavaca bay, Texas, or practically the point which Benavides had recommended to the Spanish crown. Our author's "San Iuan de Lua" (San Juan de Ulúa) had recently been established on a small island off Vera Cruz in defense of that important seaport: it was the last Spanish possession on the North American mainland, capitulating November 18, 1825. Respecting the ultimate outcome of Benavides' proposal, which had not been lost sight of half a century later, Bolton ("Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519–1690," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI, no. 1, pp. 7, 17–18, July 1912) writes: "In 1630, when Quivira was attracting so much attention, Father Benavides, custos of the missions of New Mexico, made a most interesting suggestion regarding the eastern country, and one which later bore fruit. Writing of the 'kingdoms' of Quivira and Aixaos, he described them as rich in gold; and, as a means of subduing them, restraining the English and the Dutch, and providing a shorter route from Cuba to New Mexico, he suggested the occupation of a place on the Gulf coast known as the Bay of Espíritu Santo, shown on the maps as somewhere between Apalache and Tampico, and, as Benavides thought, less than a hundred leagues from Quivira. In 1632 Benavides published another memorial urging the same plan. [*Foot-note:* 'Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa*, p. 132.' See our note 2.] It will be seen that nearly half a century later the Spanish government took the proposal under consideration, and had set about putting it into effect before the La Salle expedition occurred." (p. 7.) "In 1678 news was received at the Spanish court that Peñalosa, the discredited governor of New Mexico already mentioned, had proposed at the court of France an expedition against New Spain. Incident to the investigation of the report, the royal secretaries brought forth Benavides's memorial of 1630, and noted his recommendation that the Bay of Espíritu Santo be occupied as a base of operations in New Mexico and Quivira as a defence against the encroachment of foreigners. Thereupon the king asked the viceroy for a report on the geography of the country east of New Mexico and the feasibility of Benavides's plan —'what advantages would come from Christianizing the kingdoms of Quivira and Tagago [Teguayo]; what means would be needed to effect it; whether it could be done better by the way of Florida than through the Bay of Espíritu Santo; and whether any danger was to be feared from the proposals of Peñalosa.' Some time before August 2, 1685, Martín de Echegaray, pilot major and captain at Pensacola, reported to the king the danger that the French might occupy the Bay of Espíritu Santo and enter thence to New Mexico. He accordingly repeated the suggestion of Father Benavides, and offered to explore the bay with a view to its occupation and to prepare a map of the coast. A *junta de guerra* approved the proposal, and on August 2 the king ordered the governor of Florida to coöperate with Echegaray. At the same time, he repeated the request for the report from the viceroy, which had not yet been made, 'in order that from all directions may be had the desired notices with respect to all the foregoing, for the greater security and certainty of the achievement of the discovering of the said Bay of Espíritu Santo and the kingdoms of Quivira and Tagago, and of their settlement and conservation, in order thereby to make the said provinces of Florida secure from the menaces in which they stand from the corsairs and pirates who commonly infest them." (Ibid., pp. 17–18, from the Cédula of August 2, 1685, in Duro, *Peñalosa*, 50–53.) F. W. H.

60. A similar occurrence is noted by Bancroft (*Hist. Ariz. and N. Mex.*, p. 248, note), who states, on documentary authority, that in 1750 Padre Delgado, a missionary among the Navaho, gave away his clothes and begged his superior for more — old ones, not new — so that he might with decency meet people. The padres were not prone to complain of their inconveniences or even of their many sufferings, which, in accordance with their vows, they rather courted than aimed to escape. See also page 24. F. W. H.

61. There is good reason for supposing that here ends the *Memorial* as originally submitted by Benavides, for it can hardly be conceived that Fray Alonso could have incorporated in his original *relación*, without knowing it, an unreliable account of Coronado's discoveries in the very country in which he himself had been missionizing for seven years. Indeed, in the closing paragraph of the *Memorial*, as published, Santander directly alludes to a certain *informacion juridica* "and other authentic narrations which the Padre Commissary-General of New Spain [Francisco de Apodaca] transmitted *to me*," thus practically admitting the interpolation; while in his letter to the Padres in New Mexico (see note 2) Benavides specifically says: "In satisfying these demands [for copies of the *Memorial*], I have distributed four hundred copies of the book, and Our Most Reverend Father General [Fray Bernardino de Siena] has sent them to Rome to His Holiness, adding other statements not found in the printed statement." This, of course, indicates that Benavides' superiors were not averse to augmenting his text. It is difficult to imagine, for example, that the descriptions of the provinces of "Tihues" and Quivira and of the "Marvelous Crag" of Acoma, which follow, would not have been recognized at once by Benavides as prominent features of his own missionary field, even if "Sibola" were not recognizable as Zuñi, "Tuzayan" as the Hopi or Moqui villages, and Cicuyo or Cycuyo as Pecos. I suspect that the "information" sent by Apodaca to Santander was derived from a narration of Coronado's expedition then extant in the City of Mexico, but of which we now know nothing, and that it suffered torture in the extracting. My reason for this conclusion is the fact that in no other sixteenth or seventeenth century source have I thus far found the forms of the town and province names as here recorded. Sibola, Tuzayan, Cicuyo or Cycuyo, and Tihues are new spellings for the time, while Agastan (which sounds suspiciously Nahuatlan) as the name of an Opata settlement in Rio Sonora valley, appears in no other work so far as I am aware. And yet it seems impossible that such atrocious blunders as occur in this ac-

count of Coronado's exploits could have been made by a member of the expedition, or even by any one else at all familiar with the narratives. F. W. H.

62. The oft-cited expedition of Francisco Vazquez Coronado in 1540-42 is so well known that even a brief review of what that celebrated explorer accomplished seems needless here. For a full account see Winship's admirable memoir, with the original documents and a list of works bearing on the subject, in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1896, and, for supplementary information, the present annotator's paper, "Coronado's March to Quivira," in J. V. Brower's *Memoirs of Exploration in the Basin of the Mississppi*, vol. II, St. Paul, 1899. The *Memorial* (or rather the "*informacion juridica*" appended thereto) erroneously gives "Alonso" instead of Francisco as Coronado's first name. F. W. H.

63. Like all the early Spanish writers on the region, Benavides uses the term *provincia* very loosely; it may refer to a single native settlement or a group of settlements within a comparatively limited range, but usually the name is employed to designate the habitat of a people speaking a common language so far as known. The name "Chiametla" still survives in Rio Chametla in the southeastern part of the State of Sinaloa; Culiacan is in the central portion of the same state, and the town of Sinaloa (formerly the capital) in the northwestern part. San Miguel Culiacan was founded in 1531, by Nuño de Guzman, on or near the site of the present town of Culiacan. It is of interest in the present connection as having been the point whence Coronado had planned to communicate with the fleet under Alarcon, and the home of the chief chronicler of the expedition, Pedro de Castañeda de Najera, as well as of the unfortunate Melchior Diaz, a prominent member of Coronado's army and at one time mayor of the town. F. W. H.

64. This description of the "Valley of Señora" (i.e., the present Sonora valley in the Mexican state of the same name) does not coincide with the narratives of Coronado's companions. Castañeda gives the distance as 150 leagues from Culiacan to Señora valley, or 300 leagues ("perhaps 10 more or less") from Culiacan to Cibola (Zuñi), in which latter figure the *Relación Postrera de Sívola* agrees. The *Traslado de las Nuevas* gives "350 long leagues"; the *Relación del Suceso* says 150 leagues from Culiacan to Corazones, and the same distance from the latter to Cibola, while Señora valley was 10 leagues beyond Corazones valley. In another place, however, this document asserts that it is 240 leagues from Culiacan to Cibola. Whence the *Memorial's* notion of 80 leagues from Chametla to Señora valley was derived it is difficult to discover. As the route from Culiacan to Señora valley approximated 150 leagues, while Chametla was 60 or 70 leagues still farther away, the *Memorial's* figure is only about a third of the actual distance traveled between the points named by it. As to the length of Señora valley the early authorities disagree, because the actual valley of the Rio Sonora was divided by the chroniclers into Corazones, Señora, and Suya valleys, which in all probability were along one and the same stream — the Rio Sonora (see Hodge, *Coronado's March to Quivira*, op. cit.). Jaramillo, for example, says that Señora valley "continues for 6 or 7 leagues, a little more or less." The *Memorial's* statement of the actual length (60 leagues) is not far out of the way. F. W. H.

65. "Our people" here refers to Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca and his companions who reached this point early in 1536, after about eight years of wandering and suffering. Cabeça de Vaca does not concern us here. For a good popular account see *The Spanish Pioneers*, by Charles F. Lummis; and for the narrative itself, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, translated by Fanny Bandelier, New York, 1905, and *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1871 (new edition, edited by F. W. Hodge, New York, 1907), from which the following extract is made: "In the town where the emeralds were presented to us the people gave Dorantes over six hundred open hearts of deer. They ever keep a good supply of them for food, and we called the place Pueblo de los Corazones. It is the entrance into many provinces on the South sea. They who go to look for them and do not enter there, will be lost" (p. 172). Smith, the translator, identifies Corazones with "Tekora," after Padre Francisco Javier Alegre's identification with "Yecora," but these are evidently errors, as neither of the two settlements named Yecora (one a Nevome, the other an Opata village) was on the Rio Sonora or "Señora." The present annotator has arrayed sufficient evidence, it is believed, to establish the location of Corazones at or near the present Ures (see Hodge, *Coronado's March to Quivira*, op. cit.). The *Memorial* is the only known writing to give the definite size of Corazones at so early a period. F. W. H.

66. As hitherto stated, this great pueblo (if it ever existed) is not identifiable with any settlement known to history. The valley of the Sonora was inhabited by the Opata, a Piman tribe, one of whose villages was Ures (Corazones). Six leagues upstream would not bring one to any known town of importance, during the colonization period at least. Suaqui and Babiácora were the first noteworthy settlements of the Opata going up the valley from Ures, but these lay at a considerable distance. F. W. H.

67. This was the name (generally spelled "Cibola," believed by Cushing and Bandelier to be a corruption of *Shiwona*, the native name of the tribal range) first applied by the Spaniards to the group of seven villages (the "Seven Cities of Cibola") occupied by the Zuñi tribe, in the valley of the Rio Zuñi, western New Mexico (note 37). Leaving Sonora valley, the trend was decidedly northeastward, Coronado hitherto aiming to keep as near to the coast as possible but finding himself farther and farther away as he proceeded northward with his army. The identity of Cibola and Zuñi has so often been indisputably shown that there is no need of dwelling on it here. See the List of Works accompanying Winship's *Coronado Expedition*, and the evidence repeated in Hodge's *Coronado's March to Quivira*, before cited. Allowing 60 leagues for the length of Sonora or Señora valley, as given in this *informacion jurídica*, the compiler would still be 50 or 60 leagues short in his estimate from Sonora valley to Cibola, as the route covered between Corazones and the latter approximated 150 leagues, as we have seen (note 64). The principal "city" of Cibola, according to Coronado, was the most southwestwardly one, which he called Granada, but which the natives knew as Hawikuh. In the words of Coronado (Winship, p. 558), "the Seven Cities are seven little villages. They are all called the Kingdom of Cevola, and each has its own name, and no single one is called Cevola, but all together are called Cevola. This one which I have called a city I have named Granada." The impression that one of the group of pueblos was called Cibola was gained from Marcos de Niza, who "understood, or gave to understand, that the region and neighborhood in which there are seven villages were a single village which he called Cibola, but the whole of this settled region is called Cibola" (*Relación del Suceso*, in Winship, p. 573). This document further states that "the villages have from 150 to 200 and 300 houses." The *Relación Postrera de Sívola* reported that "the largest may have about 200 houses and two others about 200, and the others somewhere between 60 or 50 and 30 houses." (ibid., p. 569). The statement of the *Memorial* in regard to the height of the buildings agrees with the descriptions of the early chroniclers. On this point Castañeda says: "The houses are ordinarily three or four stories high, but in Maçaque [Matsaki, near the base of Thunder mountain, about three miles east of Zuñi] there are houses with four and seven stories" (Winship, 517). F. W. H.

68. An overdrawn account of another Tigua town which is not identifiable. Compare the descriptions of Coronado's province of Tiguex and the conflicting statements of the number of towns composing it, in Winship's *Coronado Expedition*. This reference to the unknown "city" is probably of little or no value. The number of houses must have been greatly exaggerated, as usual. It will be observed that the writer alludes to the similarity of the "corridors" of the houses to those of New Mexico as if he imagined that his description alluded to another region. The entire territory now being discussed was no other, of course, than Benavides' own missionary field, the river so often mentioned being the Rio Grande. F. W. H.

69. The "Marvelous Crag" is of course the Acoma peñol (see note 36). Aside from the usual exaggeration in the number of houses and the population, the description is not much overdrawn. Castañeda was the first to speak of the cultivation of the summit of the Acoma mesa and to call attention to its interesting natural water supply. The height of the peñol is not nearly 2,000 feet, as here asserted, but 357 feet; while that of the Giralda, a belltower which rises from the northeastern corner of the Sevilla cathedral, is 275 feet. In regard to the trail to the summit, there are, and doubtless were, several trails, all difficult and more or less dangerous. In all probability the text refers to the Camino del Padre, so called, it is said, after Fray Juan Ramirez, the "Apostle of Acoma" (see notes 8, 36). Consult Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, p. 141. F. W. H.

70. The province of Tusayan, or "Tuzayan," was, of course, the Moqui or Hopi villages of the present northeastern Arizona. There is no reason to suppose that the number of towns in Benavides' time was any greater than when the province was visited by Tobar in 1540, when they numbered seven. See note 38. F. W. H.

71. Cicuyo, or Cycuyo, is the Cicuic, Cicuique, and Cicuye of the Coronado narratives, concerning which see Winship, above cited. This pueblo was Pecos. The *Memorial's* reference to the number of houses is, as usual, exaggerated.

See note 29. Bandelier conducted important researches among the ruins of this pueblo, for which consult *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*, American series, part I, 1881, pages 37–133. F. W. H.

72. The "four" friars who accompanied him were Marcos de Niza, the Provincial of the Franciscan Order, who served as Coronado's guide, but returned to Mexico from Cibola by reason of threats from the soldiers on account of his supposed false description of the country; Juan de Padilla, who, with Lucas and Sebastian, lay brothers, remained in Quivira and was killed; Juan de la Cruz, who stayed behind at Tiguex and was killed; Luis Descalona (or de Ubeda), who established himself at Pecos, and, like Fray Juan, was murdered by the natives. Fray Antonio Victoria, who broke his leg en route from Culiacan, seems to have remained behind. See note 4. F. W. H.

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